CICERO

*Pro lege Manilia*

Marjorie D. Whittaker.

CCCI

Presented by Mrs. Buxton

Pitt Press Series

# M. TULLI CICERONIS

## ORATIO DE IMPERIO CN. POMPEI

[PRO LEGE MANILIA]

SKETCH-MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE MITHRIDATIC WARS.

# M. TULLI CICERONIS

## ORATIO DE IMPERIO CN. POMPEI

## [PRO LEGE MANILIA]

*WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

BY

J. C. NICOL, M.A.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF TRINITY HALL, CAMBRIDGE,
LATE HEAD MASTER OF PORTSMOUTH GRAMMAR SCHOOL

CAMBRIDGE:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1926

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON : Fetter Lane

NEW YORK
The Macmillan Co.
BOMBAY, CALCUTTA and MADRAS
Macmillan and Co., Ltd.
TORONTO
The Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd.
TOKYO
Maruzen-Kabushiki-Kaisha

All rights reserved

*First Edition* 1899
*Reprinted* 1904, 1909, 1915, 1922, 1926

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

# PREFACE.

IN preparing this edition for the Syndics of the Pitt Press I have borne in mind the requirements of younger students, who will probably be making their first acquaintance with Cicero through this speech, which is best known, in England at any rate, by the title *pro Lege Manilia.*

There is a growing fashion nowadays in school-editions of the Classics to reduce critical discussion to a minimum, and to eliminate the quotation of parallel passages. The tendency may easily be carried too far. The average boy, if left to himself, will not read notes, even at the foot of the page, but it is a mistake to make things too easy for him. One result, for instance, of the wholesale provision of special vocabularies, is that many boys are incapable of intelligently using a good dictionary.

An apt quotation, of course explained and applied by the teacher, is often the best instrument for driving home a new idiom or a strange word, and there are

always one or two boys in a form who can be induced to take an interest in textual criticism, provided that it is not of too recondite a nature.

It is hoped that the Index, with its lists of case and prepositional usages, may be of service in revision to summarize what has been learned in the reading of the speech.

The Introduction is based almost entirely on Mommsen. The text is in the main that of Müller (Teubner series), but I have consulted throughout Mr A. C. Clark's collation of the Harleian MS. (*Anecdota Oxoniensa*, Part VII.).

In preparing the notes I have made use of the editions of Richter and Eberhard, Halm, Professor Wilkins, and J. Hunter-Smith.

Mr A. W. W. Dale, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity Hall, has kindly helped me in revising the proofs, and I am indebted to him for many valuable suggestions.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, PORTSMOUTH,
*September*, 1899.

# CONTENTS.


| | PAGES |
|---|---|
| INTRODUCTION . . . . . | ix—xxii |
| CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE . . . | xxvii |
| TEXT . . . . . | 1—26 |
| NOTES . . . . . | 27—79 |
| VOCABULARY . . . . . | 81—99 |
| INDEX TO THE TEXT AND NOTES . | 100—103 |
| INDEX OF NAMES AND PLACES . . | 104 |
| MAP . . . . . | *Face Title* |

The text of Müller has been followed in the main throughout this edition. The following is a brief summary of the variations adopted. H. stands for Harleian, R. & E. for Richter and Eberhard (4th Ed. 1890).

6, 32 *enim* omitted after *genus est* R. & E.
7, 14 *omnes* [not in MSS.] omitted after *cives Romanos*.
13, 15 *taciti* for *tacite* H.
13, 24 *commoretur* for *commoratur* H.
14, 2 *exportantur* for *exportentur* R. & E.
18, 5 [*eorum*] R. & E.
19, 23 *num* for *ne non* R. & E.
21, 9 *atque odio* omitted R. & E.
24, 20 *progressio* for *processio* H.
24, 22 [*et eorum...collegerant*] R. & E.
26, 8 *confectis* for *confecti* H. and R. & E.
40, 5 *qua ille sit* R. & E.
46, 19 [*semper*] omitted before *molestum* R. & E.
67, 31 *praetores* for *imperatores* R. & E.
67, 32 *nos* for *eos* H.
68, 19 *horumne* for *responderene* Madvig.

# INTRODUCTION.

1. When the great struggle with Hannibal was over, Rome soon found herself in collision with the powers of the East. The conquest and annexation first of Macedonia and then of Greece, increased the chances of conflict, and the death of Attalus, her friend and ally, who bequeathed his kingdom of Pergamus to Rome in 133 B.C., gave to Rome the new province of Asia, and made her definitely an Eastern power.

It was at this juncture that the Republic entered on a period of war and revolution which not only revealed the weakness and incapacity of the Government, but forced men for a while to neglect the calls of foreign policy.

The reforms of the Gracchi, their downfall, the shameful struggle with Jugurtha, the fight for existence with the Cimbri and the Teutones, were followed by the great Italian rising with its heritage of Civil War.

During these years the Roman province of Asia[1], which had been given over by Caius Gracchus[2] to the greed of the publicani, was suffering unspeakable extortions[3], and a peasantry bankrupt and enslaved waited only the signal for revolt against the oppressor. Meanwhile a king had arisen who was to lead

[1] Pro Flacco 27, 65 *Asia vestra constat ex Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, Lydia.*

[2] Verr. Act II, 3, 6 *censoria locatio constituta est, ut Asiae, lege Sempronia.*

[3] See 65 of this speech *passim* for oppression and rapacity of Roman governors.

the reaction of the East against the West, the successor of Xerxes, the forerunner of the Parthian and the Turk in that world-struggle upon which history has not yet said the last word.

### *Mithridates VI of Pontus.*

2. Mithridates VI of Pontus, surnamed Eupator, the romance of whose life adds a fascination to his career, was crowned at the age of eleven. He was soon driven from his throne and for seven years led the life of a homeless wanderer. Amidst dangers and hardships he grew to heroic stature. His feats as a runner and rider, his gigantic armour, his unerring aim were the theme of many a legend. When at length he regained his throne, we find him a typical Eastern potentate with all the vices and cruelty of a Sultan. The ruthless murder of his own kindred, the atmosphere of suspicion and treachery in which he moved, are characteristic.

What marks him off however from the mere despot, is his boundless activity. He explored in disguise the dominions he hoped to conquer, and administered justice in twenty-two languages without the aid of an interpreter. He was no pioneer of civilization, and the tincture of Hellenism which he could not fail to acquire left him still a thorough Oriental; but his ubiquitous vigour, his refusal to acknowledge defeat in the unequal struggle which ended only with his life, made him a most formidable foe to Rome[1].

### *Asia Minor and Pontus.*

3. The Kingdom of Pontus (or Cappadocia on the sea) was situated at the north-eastern extremity of Asia Minor, bordering on Armenia, and with a coast-line that reached from Sinope to Colchis. It was a fertile and well-wooded land, yet more primitive in its condition than the countries to west and south of it with their manifold nationalities, upon which the Greek colonies

[1] Pro Murena 15, 32 *atqui, si diligenter, quid Mithridates potuerit, et quid effecerit, et qui vir fuerit, consideraris, omnibus regibus, quibuscum populus Romanus bellum gessit, hunc regem nimirum antepones.*

and traders, and the conquests of Alexander the Great had stamped something of the civilization of Hellas. Mithridates' first attempts to extend his dominions led him northwards to the eastern and northern shores of the Black Sea, where the Greek coast-towns of the Crimea hailed him as a deliverer from the wild Scythian and Celtic tribes who imperilled their existence.

Here he acquired a kingdom, which extended to the Dnieper, and was known as the kingdom of the Bosporus.

Having for a time satisfied his ambition in this direction, he proceeded to strengthen his position in Asia Minor. He gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Tigranes, king of the Greater Armenia, thus securing his rear, and he next turned his attention to Paphlagonia which lay between his kingdom and Bithynia, and to Cappadocia proper which formed a buffer-state between his kingdom and the newly-formed province of Cilicia. Into the intrigues by which he secured a footing in both these countries there is no need here to enter; but he had hardly planted his creature on the throne of Cappadocia, when he found himself checked by a menace from Rome.

*Sulla and Lucullus: the Mithridatic Wars.*

4. L. Sulla, then the governor of Cilicia, with a mere handful of troops at his disposal, crossed the Taurus, drove out the nominee of Mithridates, and set Ariobarzanes on the throne of Cappadocia. This happened in B.C. 92: but the work was undone as soon as Sulla left Asia. Ariobarzanes was driven into exile, and Nicomedes III, king of Bithynia, was supplanted by a brother who was virtually a tool of Mithridates. It was in answer to their appeals to Rome that Manius Aquillius an ex-consul was sent, without an army, to support the governor of the province. Again Mithridates gave way, but continued to prepare for a struggle which was now inevitable, and when Aquillius encouraged Nicomedes to harass the borders of Pontus and forbad Mithridates to defend himself, the storm broke. With a vast army Mithridates overran Bithynia, crushed the feeble opposition of the Roman and native troops, put

Aquillius to a cruel death[1], and occupied the whole province of Asia. The day of vengeance for the oppressed provincials came at last, when from Ephesus Mithridates issued his famous decree that all Italians, without distinction of age or sex, should be massacred on one and the same day throughout Asia[2].

5. Rome was bound to act now, and to act vigorously; but how was it to be done? Mithridates was extending his conquests into Europe: he had made overtures (too late, it is true) to the revolting Italians; Macedonia and Greece were in his power. But the struggle with the Italians was not yet ended, the rivalry of Marius and Sulla was just beginning. At this juncture Sulla behaved with decision and patriotism. He put out of sight the interests and the peril of his own party, he left the smouldering embers of the dying war, and with a force of only 30,000 men, without a single vessel of war, set out to reconquer what was lost.

His position was most difficult. He had to depend upon requisitions to supply and pay his troops: the pirates, Mithridates' allies against the common enemy, held the seas; and, worst of all, the Marian revolution soon cut him adrift from Rome. He was deposed and proscribed, his successor Flaccus had been appointed and might at any moment appear, to add to his distractions.

Mithridates' plan of attempting to crush his adversaries in the open field proved their deliverance. At Chaeronea and at Orchomenus Sulla utterly defeated armies of greatly superior strength led as usual by Greek mercenary commanders.

The vigorous efforts of Lucullus, his legatus, had raised some semblance of a fleet, and in B.C. 85 Sulla was in a position to open negotiations with Mithridates whose cruelty and oppression had already caused a reaction against his rule in Asia. Flaccus avoiding a conflict had reached Chalcedon the year before, where he fell a victim to a mutiny of his own troops and the intrigues of Fimbria his successor.

[1] 11, l. 28 *legatum omni supplicio interfectum.*

[2] 7, l. 12 *is, qui uno die tota in Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio... cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit.*

In B.C. 84 Sulla crossed into Asia and dictated terms of peace, while Fimbria deserted by his two legions committed suicide, thus leaving the field clear.

6. But the state of Italy called imperatively for Sulla's return[1], if he was to save even the remnants of his party, and the punishment of Mithridates was necessarily deferred. The kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia were restored, the authors of the massacre were punished (though the arch-criminal escaped), and the province of Asia was ordered to pay all arrears of taxation and an indemnity of 20,000 talents. Mithridates was thus stripped of his conquests west of the river Halys, and to all appearance the position of affairs which had existed in B.C. 92 was restored.

Lucius Licinius Murena was left in charge with the two legions of Fimbria, and Sulla quitted Asia in B.C. 83 to reconquer Italy and undo the work of the Marian revolution.

Mithridates, once more confined to his old territories, contented himself with strengthening his dominion and prepared for an expedition into the Bosporan Kingdom[2]. In B.C. 82 Murena rashly attacked him, and received a serious check[3]. This was the so-called Second Mithridatic war: it was brought to a speedy end, as Sulla recalled Murena[4], and the peace was renewed in 81.

## *Tigranes.*

**7.** Tigranes now came to the front. He had been left untouched by the settlement of Sulla, and availing himself of the weakness of his neighbours he began to spread his power south and east over the dominions of the Seleucidae, and not content with this occupied portions of Cappadocia and Cilicia. Mithridates, though less obviously active, was increasing the

[1] 8, l. 27 *ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam res publica...revocavit.*

[2] 9, l. 33 *et se Bosporanis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simularet.*

[3] In spite of this he enjoyed the farce of a triumph, 8, l. 23 *triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate.*

[4] 8, l. 28 *Murenam Sulla revocavit.*

efficiency of his army and fleet, training his troops especially on Roman lines with the help of Roman exiles, and in short preparing for the struggle which was bound to come.

8. In B.C. 79 Sulla, after re-establishing the constitution on the basis of aristocratic and senatorial power, laid down his Dictatorship, retired into private life, and a year later died.

He had not succeeded however in inspiring with his own energy the government which he had created. The rule of the Sullan Restoration proved both incompetent and short-sighted.

No attempt was made to check the aggression of Tigranes, nor, as we shall see, to destroy the growing evil of piracy: matters were allowed to drift until the death of Nicomedes in B.C. 75 brought on a crisis. By his will he bequeathed his Kingdom of Bithynia to Rome, thus bringing the frontiers of Rome and Pontus closer than ever. Mithridates declared war.

Once again Rome's extremity was his opportunity. The attempt of Lepidus to overthrow the government, and the war with Sertorius in Spain, no doubt decided him to strike first, and he promptly placed himself in communication with Sertorius[1] from whom he received Roman officers to lead his armies and fleets.

*The Third Mithridatic War: the Campaigns of Lucullus.*

9. Lucius Lucullus and Marcus Cotta were appointed to the command in Asia. They found Mithridates already in possession of Bithynia, and Cotta who arrived first was forced to take shelter in Chalcedon, where his rashness cost the Romans the loss of their fleet. Mithridates raised the siege of Chalcedon on the approach of Lucullus, and advancing along the Propontis besieged Cyzicus[2]. Here he was cut off with his enormous army by Lucullus and succeeded in saving only the remnants by sea. Cyzicus was secured and the Pontic army destroyed. The fleet however of Mithridates still held the seas, and a squadron of

[1] 9, l. 1 *usque in Hispaniam legatos ac litteras misit ad eos duces quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus.*

[2] 20, l. 3, and pro Murena 15, 33, where Cyzicus is described as *Asiae ianuam.*

fifty sail carrying 10,000 picked troops and the flower of the Roman exiles had actually set out for Italy. Lucullus, though hampered by the loss of the ships at Chalcedon, managed to overtake and destroy this squadron, thus saving his country from a renewal of civil war[1].

10. The brilliant campaigns which followed can be but briefly summarized here. Lucullus at once invaded Pontus and in B.C. 72 destroyed a second army at Cabira, after which nearly two years were spent in reducing the towns of Sinope, Heraclea, and Amisus[2]. Mithridates who had escaped only through the greed of the Roman soldiers for the rich booty which he strewed in his flight[3], sought refuge with his son-in-law Tigranes[4], and he, having with short-sighted policy refused to join in the war, now detained the fugitive in semi-captivity.

It was clear that if Lucullus' work was to be done thoroughly, Tigranes must be dealt with; but the Government according to its wont declined to take the initiative, and Lucullus, like Sulla, had to act alone. His reorganization of Asia, his attempts to remedy the grievances of the provincials[5], and to check the extortion of the publicani, had made him unpopular with the Equites who now began to intrigue for his recall. This lack of sympathy between general and government made it difficult for him to ask for reinforcements, and yet fresh troops were urgently needed. His two best legions were the same that Flaccus and Fimbria had led in B.C. 86; they had been promised their well-earned discharge after Cabira and it was dangerous

[1] 21, l. 7 *classem quae ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammata raperetur.*

[2] 21, l. 12.

[3] 22, l. 30, and l. 2 *haec dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit.*

[4] 23, ll. 4—6.

[5] Cicero does justice to this side of Lucullus in Acad. Pr. II. 1, 3 *in eodem (Lucullo) tanta prudentia fuit in constituendis temperandisque civitatibus, tanta aequitas, ut hodie stet Asia Luculli institutis servandis et quasi vestigiis persequendis.*

to withhold it longer[1]. But Lucullus with the haughty temperament of the aristocrat paid too little heed to the feelings of his men. He had none of the magnetic power by which great generals secure the devotion of their soldiers. He kept strict discipline, checked pillage, worked his troops hard, and even his success could not secure him popularity.

Nevertheless he made up his mind to face Tigranes and called upon him to surrender Mithridates. On his refusal he crossed the Euphrates and marched upon Tigranocerta, the great king's new capital. The victory of his ten thousand, 'too many for an embassy, too few for an army,' over a force immeasurably superior in numbers must rank as one of the most brilliant achievements of the Roman arms.

11. The power of Tigranes seemed shattered at one blow, and he was prepared to make a full submission had not Mithridates intervened. He inspired his feeble son-in-law with his own indomitable spirit, and devised a scheme for uniting the nations of the East against the hated invader. A report was spread that the object of Lucullus was to plunder one of their wealthiest and most hallowed shrines[2]. Fanaticism was thus enlisted in support of a national cause, and what that means in the East our experiences in India abundantly illustrate.

The position of Lucullus was perilous. He had to weaken the force in Pontus by calling up troops to garrison Tigranocerta, yet he actually marched, late in the season, into the difficult mountain-regions of Armenia with the intention of seizing Artaxata the capital.

12. But he had tried the patience of his troops too far[3]: a mutiny compelled him to retreat, and he found nothing but

[1] 26, l. 8 *qui iam stipendiis confectis erant.*

[2] 23, l. 11 *opinio quae animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum esse exercitum adductum.* Mommsen conjectures that this was the temple of the Persian Nanaea or Anaïtis in Elymais.

[3] 23, l. 17 *exercitus...nimia longinquitate locorum ac desiderio suorum commovebatur.* Cicero says nothing of the mutiny.

trouble in his rear. Mithridates and Tigranes had fallen on his weakened reserves, and though he relieved the troops at Tigranocerta he was too late to save the army in Pontus. Triarius his lieutenant was forced to a battle at Ziela, and his defeat was so complete that Lucullus learned the news not from his own soldiers but through the reports of the natives[1]. Disasters fell thick and fast: he found that during his absence in Armenia his enemies had procured his recall, and his successor Glabrio had already landed in Asia. There was nothing for it but retreat, and it is one of the proudest of Lucullus' achievements that in the face of such difficulties he brought his army safely back from Armenia to Asia. But the result of eight years' fighting had been lost. Glabrio declined to take over the command. The Fimbrian legions had to be disbanded. Mithridates not only re-occupied his kingdom, but raided Cappadocia and advanced into Bithynia[2].

Ariobarzanes, once more dethroned, sought help in vain from Lucullus and from Glabrio.

We must turn now to the war with the Pirates, and to the career of the man who was to supersede both Lucullus and Glabrio and bring the long struggle to an end.

### *Cn. Pompeius Magnus.*

13. Pompeius, whose *virtus singularis et prope divina* is the main theme of Cicero's speech, was born in B.C. 106.

He served as a lad of seventeen under his father Cn. Pompeius Strabo during the Marsian War[3], and on Sulla's return to Italy joined his standard with an army which he levied on his own authority[4]. Sulla employed him, in spite of his youth[5], to crush

[1] 25, l. 3 *non ex proelio nuntius sed ex sermone rumor.*

[2] 5, l. 20 *Bithyniae...vicos exustos esse complures: regnum Ariobarzanis totum esse in hostium potestate.*

[3] 28, l. 28 *e ludo atque pueritiae disciplinis...ad patris exercitum profectus.*

[4] 61, l. 19 *quid tam novum quam adulescentulum privatum exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficere?*

[5] 28, l. 32 *ineunte adulescentia maximi ipse exercitus imperator.*

the Marian party in Sicily and Africa, and allowed him on his return to receive a triumph[1].

14. In B.C. 78 Sulla died. Pompey was twenty-eight at the time and therefore too young for the higher offices. Nevertheless in the Revolution of Lepidus the Senate, owing to the dearth of able men, was obliged to give him a command. He routed the rebels in the north at Mutina, and then insisted on being appointed to the command in Spain where the Sertorian war was still raging. The Senate had little choice in the matter, and in B.C. 77 receiving the powers of a proconsul he crossed the Alps into Gaul[2]. After fighting against Sertorius with varying success, being saved on one occasion at least from a severe defeat by his older colleague Metellus, he had the good fortune, owing to the assassination of Sertorius to bring the war to an end in B.C. 72.

During his absence the Servile or Gladiatorial war had broken out, and Crassus had just succeeded in quelling the rising, when Pompey returned from Spain. He arrived in time to disperse the remnants of the insurgent army and with characteristic vanity claimed the honours of the *bellum servile*[3].

15. This was in B.C. 71, and in the same year he and Crassus while still at the head of their armies, agreed to make common cause with the democratic faction against the Government. Their demands could not be refused, and Pompey and Crassus as consuls[4] for B.C. 70 at once undid the work of Sulla. The Tribunate, shorn of its prestige and influence by the Dictator, was restored. The Equites regained a portion of their former influence in the *Judicia*, and their control of the taxes of Asia.

[1] 61, l. 28 *quid vero tam inauditum quam equitem Romanum triumphare?*

[2] 30, l. 26 *testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris iter in Hispaniam...patefactum est.*

[3] 30, l. 31 *quod bellum exspectatione eius attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum.*

[4] 62, l. 7 *quid tam singulare, quam ut ex senatus consulto legibus solutus consul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset?*

In B.C. 69 Pompey retired into private life, and took no active part in politics till B.C. 67 when the Lex Gabinia conferred upon him the command against the pirates.

### *The Pirates.*

16. Piracy had long been a curse in the Mediterranean: it was the protracted misrule of the Roman Government that allowed it to grow into a political power.

The head-quarters of the pirate-chiefs were in Cilicia and Crete, and during the troubled years of revolution and civil war these countries served as a shelter alike to the desperado and the hunted refugee. We find the pirates plundering Samos and Clazomenae under the eyes of Sulla, in defiance of his army and fleet; they figure as the allies of Mithridates and of the Roman democrats in exile.

The commerce of the Mediterranean was wholly in their power. Merchants and even troops destined for the East had to choose between the danger of capture and that of sailing during the winter-season when the seas were closed[1]. Many Romans of rank, among them Julius Caesar, were captured and compelled to pay a heavy ransom. History records no other system of brigandage so vast and so well organized. At last their depredations extended to the shores of Italy; the Appian way itself was unsafe[2]; a fleet equipped against them was destroyed in the port of Ostia[3]; two praetors with their retinues, lictors, fasces and all, were carried off into captivity[4]. Their control of the seas threatened the capital, which subsisted on imported corn, with all the horrors of a famine.

[1] 31, l. 6 *aut hieme aut referto praedonum mari navigare*, 32, l. 19 *cum exercitus vestri numquam Brundisio nisi hieme summa transmiserint.*

[2] 55, l. 20 *etiam Appia iam via carebamus.*

[3] 33, l. 33 *Ostiense incommodum* etc.

[4] 32, l. 23 *cum duodecim secures in praedonum potestatem pervenerint.*

17. It was clear that the makeshift policy of isolated expeditions, such as that of Servilius to Cilicia, or of Metellus to Crete, did not meet the case. What was needed was a general fleet for the empire, to act as an efficient and permanent maritime police. But the weak Senate of the Sullan Restoration was incapable of a large and comprehensive policy, and with suicidal folly allowed the initiative to be taken out of their hands.

Pompey now emerged from his retirement, when the tribune of the people A. Gabinius[1] brought forward a proposal for the appointment of a single general to hold by sea exclusive command over the whole Mediterranean and the coasts thereof for fifty miles inland. The office was to last three years, and during that time the resources of the state were placed absolutely at his disposal. His army was to number 120,000, his fleet 500 ships of war, his military chest, in spite of the financial distress, was to be furnished with 144,000,000 sesterces.

18. A measure like this was in itself revolutionary, and the more far-seeing spirits of the age recognised it as such[2]. The authority of the senate was plainly superseded; the burgesses might at their pleasure invest any popular favourite with unlimited military and financial powers; the initiative lay in the hands of any demagogue however insignificant, and the tribunate which had once been the bulwark of the people's rights, was now to make smooth the path for monarchy.

Pompey was elected by popular acclamation amidst a scene of enthusiasm which Cicero alludes to in this speech[3]. The price of grain fell before his departure[4], and even Cicero cannot exaggerate the success and skill with which he carried out his

[1] 52, l. 17 *A. Gabinium...cum is de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo legem promulgasset.*

[2] 60, l. 4, Catulus' argument, '*ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta maiorum.*'

[3] 44, l. 19.

[4] 44, l. 27 *tanta repente vilitas annonae ex summa inopia et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta est.*

commission[1]. Within three months the seas were clear and the power of the pirates was broken.

19. It only remains to recall the position of affairs in the East at the end of 67 B.C. Lucullus, as we have seen, had been forced to retreat. His successor Glabrio was intriguing with his troops while shirking the responsibility of command. The victorious Pompey was in Cilicia: his command had still two years to run, and it was notorious that his ambition was to finish the war with Mithridates who was plundering with impunity right up to the borders of the Roman province of Asia.

20. Chance threw in his way the object of his wishes. Manilius, an insignificant demagogue, thinking to curry favour with the powerful general[2], came forward with a proposal to recall Glabrio, and entrust the conduct of the war in the East, without limit as to time or authority, to Pompey. It was on this occasion that Cicero first appeared as an orator on the political platform, and delivered the present speech in support of the Manilian proposal.

### *The career of Cicero up to* 66 B.C.

21. Marcus Tullius Cicero was born on Jan. 3rd, B.C. 106, at Arpinum, also the birthplace of Caius Marius. He came of an equestrian family up till that time not ennobled by office. He was educated at Rome, studying under Q. Mucius Scaevola the great lawyer, and afterwards travelled in Greece where he received instruction from Molo a rhetorician of Rhodes.

On his return to Rome he commenced practice in the law-courts, the career of a barrister being under the Republic one of the readiest roads to office. His first extant speech was delivered in B.C. 81, when he was twenty-six, in defence of P. Quintius. In B.C. 80 he made himself famous by successfully defending Q. Roscius against Chrysogonus, Sulla's powerful freedman, and in the following year, partly no doubt owing to

[1] 35, l. 22 *undequinquagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adiunxit.*

[2] 70, l. 4, where Cicero disclaims the motive for himself.

the offence which his boldness had given, he went abroad for two years, studying again under Molo, and developing his rhetorical powers.

In B.C. 77 he returned and rapidly came to the front as an orator. His success in the courts secured his first appointment in B.C. 75, as quaestor in Sicily, where he gained the respect and affection of the provincials. In B.C. 70 at the request of the Sicilians he undertook the impeachment of Caius Verres, a type of the corrupt proconsuls to whom allusion is made in the present speech[1]. By this time he was the acknowledged head of his profession, and soon obtained political promotion. In B.C. 69 he was curule aedile and in B.C. 66 he became praetor. Up to the time of this appointment he had taken little part in politics, but he seized the opportunity of supporting the Manilian proposal, partly because he knew its popularity and wished to show his gratitude to the people who had elected him, partly because he wished to ingratiate himself with Pompey who at that time seemed likely to be all-powerful in the State[2]. Moreover the occasion gave him an opportunity of triumphing over his old rival in the law-courts, Q. Hortensius, who with Catulus opposed the measure.

Too much stress however need not be laid on these motives. Cicero was a great man of letters, but no statesman, and we can hardly blame him for not seeing that the old Republican system was doomed, and that by supporting Manilius he was hastening its downfall and playing into the hands of Caesar. He was none the less a sincere patriot, and if he advocated a revolutionary measure, he did it mainly because up to the last he was short-sighted in political matters, and not because he loved popularity more than he loved his country.

[1] See 65, 66, 67 *passim*.

[2] In spite of his disclaimer in 70, l. 4 *neque quo Cn. Pompei gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem*, the truth comes out in Q. Cic. de pet. consulatus § 5 *si quid locuti populariter videamur, id nos eo consilio fecisse, ut nobis Cn. Pompeium adiungeremus, ut eum, qui plurimum posset, aut amicum in nostra petitione haberemus aut certe non adversarium.*

## ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECH.

C. I. Cicero, whose energies have hitherto found scope in his practice at the bar, encouraged by his appointment to the praetorship, feels justified in making his first appearance on the political platform.

He congratulates himself on his theme, *Pompei virtus.*

II. A brief introductory sketch of the situation in the East. Mithridates and Tigranes are threatening Asia; the Knights, whose interests are at stake, have appealed to Cicero.

Lucullus has retreated; Glabrio is unequal to the task; Pompey is unanimously called for.

Cicero divides his subject into three heads:

(i) *de belli genere,*
(ii) *de belli magnitudine,*
(iii) *de imperatore deligendo.*

III. (i) *de belli genere:* the glory of Rome is at stake, her revenues are imperilled. The stain of the great massacre must be removed, for Mithridates is still unpunished.

What Sulla and Murena did.

IV. What Mithridates has since done, against the Bosporani, and in negotiating with Sertorius.

Brief allusion to

Pompey's services in Spain,
Lucullus' services in the East.

The praise of Lucullus is deferred.

V. Appeals to Roman pride and past traditions: for instance, the punishment of Corinth for a mere slight to a *legatio.*

The *salus sociorum* is at stake; Ariobarzanes is again dethroned; *socii et amici* throughout the East look to Rome and sigh for Pompey.

Reasons why Pompey is so to be desired.

VI. A second appeal to Roman traditions: wars undertaken in the past in defence of allies.

Moreover *de maximis vectigalibus agitur:* a description of the wealth of Asia, the damage to trade, agriculture, etc. caused by a mere alarm of war.

VII. The tax-payer and the tax-farmer are both to be considered, as also are the Roman investors, the Knights especially, *firmamentum ordinum*. A financial crisis in Asia will involve a collapse of the public credit in Rome.

VIII. (ii) *de belli magnitudine:* the war is not only *genere necessarium*, there is a danger of underrating its formidable character.

The eulogy of Lucullus—what he achieved.

IX. But the question may be asked, How can what remains of the war be formidable?

In answer to this, Cicero passes in review Mithridates' escape, Tigranes' reception of him, the rising of the East (*nationes multae atque magnae*) in a sort of Holy War, the retreat of Lucullus, the defeat of Triarius at Ziela, the disbanding of a portion of the Roman army.

The situation is again summarized.

X. (iii) *de imperatore deligendo:* why Pompey is Rome's 'only general': the dearth of *viri fortes atque innocentes*.

The qualifications of a good general

(*a*) *scientia rei militaris*,
(*b*) *virtus*,
(*c*) *auctoritas*,
(*d*) *felicitas*.

(*a*) *scientia:* Pompey has been a soldier from early boyhood; a sketch of his career, and a list of the wars he has fought in, *civile*, *Africanum*, *Transalpinum*, *Hispaniense*, *servile*, *navale:* nothing has escaped him, no lesson of experience has been left unlearned.

XI. (*b*) *virtus:* the popular notion of *virtutes imperatoriae*; these are *labor in negotiis*, *fortitudo in periculis*, *industria in agendo*, *consilium in providendo*.

All these qualities Pompey possesses in the highest degree, as is shown by his various campaigns. The last of these, *bellum navale*, gives
XII. rise to a long digression on the pirates, and to an account of Pompey's
XIII. rapid and efficient conduct of the war, which is a further proof of his *virtus divina atque incredibilis*.

Cicero now returns to the point which he hinted at in (*b*) while discussing the popular notion of *virtutes imperatoriae*.

*Bellandi virtus*, he says, is not everything; the ideal general must have *innocentia*, *temperantia*, *fides*, *facilitas*, *ingenium*, *humanitas*. In all of these Pompey is preeminent. Cicero then takes them in detail. He contrasts Pompey with certain types of commander, and especially

in respect of his *continentia*: he keeps his troops well in hand, his *hiberna* are not oppressive.

XIV. His *temperantia* accounts for his *celeritas*, he resists all the attractions and temptations that hinder others. The natives of Asia look upon him as *de caelo delapsum*, their faith in the old Roman virtues revives.

His *facilitas*, his willingness to hear complaints and grant easy access to all, his *fides* in which even his enemies trust implicitly.

XV. (*c*) *auctoritas*: a general's *auctoritas* is largely dependent on public belief in him. Cicero recalls the famous day of Pompey's election to the command against the Pirates, the *vilitas annonae* which at once followed.

XVI. Pompey's arrival in the East has saved Asia, and the appeal of the distant Cretans testifies still further to his prestige.

(*d*) *felicitas*: Cicero maintains that in the case of Rome's greatest generals *fortuna* as well as *virtus* has been a factor in their success.

Pompey's *felicitas* is unparalleled. Then follows a brief summary of the argument, and a statement of the following conclusion.

XVII. Pompey, even if a private citizen in Rome, would be the inevitable choice for the command; but he is in the East, on the spot, with an army: surely the gods themselves ordained such *opportunitas*.

The arguments of the opposition, Catulus and Hortensius.

Hortensius' argument is '*ad unum omnia deferri non oportere*.' But he said this on the occasion of the Gabinian Law, and surely the result has justified the anomaly.

XVIII. Without further answer to this argument, Cicero enlarges on the Pirates and Pompey's victory.

XIX. He incidentally touches on the appointment of Gabinius as Pompey's *legatus*.

XX. Catulus' argument '*si quid Pompeio factum esset*' is turned by a compliment, failing Pompey the country will look to Catulus.

His most weighty argument is '*ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta maiorum*.'

In reply to this Cicero appeals to violations of precedent in the cases of Scipio and Marius, and notably Pompey himself. He adds that many of the special commands held by Pompey were bestowed with Catulus' approval.

XXI. A long list of instances in which Pompey has been allowed to violate precedent, and especially his being granted a triumph when only a Roman knight.

XXII. He returns to the argument that Pompey is specially fitted for the command in the East, and contrasts him favourably with the ordinary type of those proconsuls who have made the name of Rome detested in the provinces.

XXIII. The same theme is continued, and the chapter ends with an appeal to the authority of Servilius, Curio, Lentulus, and Cassius, who support the Manilian proposal.

XXIV. Cicero encourages Manilius and, disclaiming interested motives for himself, promises him his hearty support.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE CHIEF EVENTS.

## B.C. 133—B.C. 66.

| B.C. | *Events in Italy and the West* | | *Events in the East* | B.C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 133 | Tribunate of Tib. Gracchus | | Attalus III bequeaths his kingdom to Rome | 133 |
| 123 | Tribunate of Caius Gracchus | | | |
| 112 | Jugurthine war | POMPEY } born<br>CICERO } in 106 | | |
| 102 | Marius destroys the Cimbri and the Teutones | | | |
| 92 | | | Sulla as Governor of Cilicia drives Mithridates out of Cappadocia | 92 |
| 91 | OUTBREAK OF SOCIAL WAR | | | |
| 88 | Rivalry between Sulla and Marius for command against Mithridates | | Mithridates begins the 1ST MITHRIDATIC WAR<br>Massacre of Romans in Asia | 88 |
| 87 | Cinna and Marius—proscriptions—reign of terror | | Sulla besieges Athens | 87 |
| 86 | Death of Marius | | Battles of Chaeronea and Orchomenus | 86<br>85 |
| 84 | Cinna killed in a mutiny | | Peace with Mithridates | 84 |
| 83 | Sulla returns from the East | | | |
| 82 | Battle at Colline Gate—end of war in Italy | | So-called 2ND MITHRIDATIC WAR | 82 |
| 81 | Sulla dictator—proscriptions | | Peace renewed with Mithridates | 81 |
| 80 | | CICERO defends Q. Roscius Amerinus | | |
| 78 | DEATH OF SULLA<br>Attempt of Lepidus—war with Sertorius in Spain | | | |
| 77 | POMPEY receives command against Sertorius | | | |
| 75 | | CICERO quaestor in Sicily | Nicomedes bequeaths Bithynia to Rome | 75 |
| 74 | | | 3RD MITHRIDATIC WAR | 74 |
| 73 | Servile or Gladiatorial war | | | |
| 72 | Murder of Sertorius | | Battle of Cabira | 72 |
| 71 | POMPEY returns from Spain | | | |
| 70 | POMPEY and Crassus consuls | CICERO impeaches Verres | | |
| 69 | | CICERO curule aedile | Battle of Tigranocerta | 69 |
| 68 | | | Retreat of Lucullus | |
| 67 | LEX GABINIA. Pirate war | | POMPEY arrives in the East | 67 |
| 66 | LEX MANILIA | CICERO praetor | | |

# M. TULLI CICERONIS

# DE IMPERIO CN. POMPEI

## AD QUIRITES ORATIO.

I. QUAMQUAM mihi semper frequens conspectus vester 1
multo iucundissimus, hic autem locus ad agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus, est visus, Quirites, tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maxime patuit, non mea me voluntas adhuc, sed vitae meae rationes ab ineunte aetate susceptae prohibuerunt. Nam cum antea per aetatem nondum huius auctoritatem loci attingere auderem statueremque nihil huc nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria adferri oportere, omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. Ita neque 2
hic locus vacuus umquam fuit ab iis, qui vestram causam defenderent, et meus labor in privatorum periculis caste integreque versatus ex vestro iudicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus. Nam cum propter dilationem comitiorum ter praetor primus centuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me iudicaretis et quid aliis praescriberetis. Nunc cum et auctoritatis in me tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus mandandis esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilanti ex forensi usu prope cotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit

adferre, certe et, si quid auctoritatis in me est, apud eos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt, et, si quid in dicendo consequi possum, iis ostendam potissimum, qui ei quoque rei fructum
3 suo iudicio tribuendum esse duxerunt. Atque illud in primis mihi laetandum iure esse video, quod in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi causa talis oblata est, in qua oratio deesse nemini possit. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompei singulari eximiaque virtute; huius autem orationis difficilius est exitum quam principium invenire. Ita mihi non tam copia quam modus in dicendo quaerendus est.

4 II. Atque ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, unde haec omnis causa ducitur, bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus ac sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus infertur, Mithridate et Tigrane, quorum alter relictus, alter lacessitus occasionem sibi ad occupandam Asiam oblatam esse arbitratur. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, adferuntur ex Asia cotidie litterae, quorum magnae res aguntur in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatae; qui ad me pro necessitudine, quae mihi est cum illo ordine, causam rei
5 publicae periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt: Bithyniae, quae nunc vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse complures, regnum Ariobarzanis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate; L. Lucullum magnis rebus gestis ab eo bello discedere; huic qui succeserit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum; unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti, eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praeterea neminem.

6 Causa quae sit, videtis: nunc, quid agendum sit, considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum.

Genus est belli eius modi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ad persequendi studium debeat;†

in quo agitur populi Romani gloria quae vobis a maioribus cum magna in omnibus rebus, tum summa in re militari tradita est; agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa maiores vestri magna et gravia bella gesserunt; aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima, quibus amissis et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli requiretis; aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et ipsorum et rei publicae causa consulendum. III. Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriae praeter ceteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda est vobis illa macula Mithridatico bello superiore concepta, quae penitus iam insedit ac nimis inveteravit in populi Romani nomine, quod is, qui uno die tota in Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio atque una significatione litterarum cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non modo adhuc poenam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, sed ab illo tempore annum iam tertium et vicesimum regnat, et ita regnat, ut se non Ponti neque Cappadociae latebris occultare velit, sed emergere ex patrio regno atque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est in Asiae luce, versari. Etenim adhuc ita nostri cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriae, non victoriam reportarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri et summi imperatores, sed ita triumpharunt, ut ille pulsus superatusque regnaret. Verum tamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda, quod egerunt, venia danda, quod reliquerunt, propterea quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam res publica, Murenam Sulla revocavit.

IV. Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi contulit; qui postea, cum maximas aedificasset ornassetque classes exercitusque permagnos, quibuscumque ex gentibus potuisset, comparasset et se Bosporanis, finitimis suis, bellum

inferre simularet, usque in Hispaniam legatos ac litteras misit ad eos duces, quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus, ut, cum duobus in locis disiunctissimis maximeque diversis uno consilio a binis hostium copiis bellum terra marique gereretur, vos ancipiti contentione districti de imperio dimi-
10 caretis. Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianae atque Hispaniensis, quae multo plus firmamenti ac roboris habebat, Cn. Pompei divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est; in altera parte ita res a L. Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata, ut initia illa rerum gestarum magna atque praeclara non felicitati eius, sed virtuti, haec autem extrema, quae nuper acciderunt, non culpae, sed fortunae tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratione
11 mea neque falsa adficta esse videatur; de vestri imperii dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is est exorsus orationis meae, videte quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

V. Maiores nostri saepe mercatoribus aut navicularis nostris iniuriosius tractatis bella gesserunt; vos tot milibus civium Romanorum uno nuntio atque uno tempore necatis quo tandem animo esse debetis? (Legati quod erant appellati superbius,) Corinthum patres vestri, totius Graeciae lumen, exstinctum esse voluerunt; vos eum regem inultum esse patiemini, qui legatum populi Romani consularem vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit? Illi libertatem imminutam civium Romanorum non tulerunt; vos ereptam vitam neglegetis? Ius legationis verbo violatum illi persecuti sunt; vos legatum omni sup-
12 plicio interfectum relinquetis? Videte, ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit tantam vobis imperii gloriam tradere, sic vobis turpissimum sit id, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse.

Quid? quod salus sociorum summum in periculum ac

discrimen vocatur, quo tandem animo ferre debetis? Regno est expulsus Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus; imminent duo reges toti Asiae non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis; civitates autem omnes cuncta Asia atque Graecia vestrum auxilium exspectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur; imperatorem a vobis certum deposcere, cum praesertim vos alium miseritis, neque audent neque se id facere sine summo periculo posse arbitrantur. Vident et sentiunt 13 hoc idem, quod vos, unum virum esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et eum propter esse, quo etiam carent aegrius; cuius adventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad maritimum bellum venerit, tamen impetus hostium repressos esse intellegunt ac retardatos. Hi vos, quoniam libere loqui non licet, taciti rogant, ut se quoque, sicut ceterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimetis, quorum salutem tali viro commendetis, atque hoc etiam magis, quod ceteros in provinciam eius modi homines cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiam si ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differant, hunc audiebant antea, nunc praesentem vident tanta temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissime commoretur.

VI. Quare, si propter socios nulla ipsi iniuria lacessiti 14 maiores nostri cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum Aetolis, cum Poenis bella gesserunt, quanto vos studio convenit iniuriis provocatos sociorum salutem una cum imperii vestri dignitate defendere, praesertim cum de maximis vestris vectigalibus agatur? Nam ceterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt, ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus, Asia vero tam opima est ac fertilis, ut et ubertate agrorum et varietate fructuum et

magnitudine pastionis et multitudine earum rerum, quae exportantur, facile omnibus terris antecellat. Itaque haec vobis provincia, Quirites, si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem retinere vultis, non modo a calamitate, sed etiam a
15 metu calamitatis est defendenda. Nam in ceteris rebus cum venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur; at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse adfert calamitatem. Nam cum hostium copiae non longe absunt, etiam si irruptio nulla facta est, tamen pecuaria relinquitur, agri cultura describitur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu neque ex decumis neque ex scriptura vectigal conservari potest; quare saepe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi atque uno belli terrore amitti-
16 tur. Quo tandem [igitur] animo esse existimatis aut eos, qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos, qui exercent atque exigunt, cum duo reges cum maximis copiis propter adsint? cum una excursio equitatus perbrevi tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit? cum publicani familias maximas, quas in saltibus habent, quas in agris, quas in portubus atque custodiis, magno periculo se habere arbitrentur? Putatisne vos illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructui sunt, conservaritis, non solum, ut ante dixi, calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidine liberatos?

17 VII. Ac ne illud quidem vobis neglegendum est, quod mihi ego extremum proposueram, cum essem de belli genere dicturus, quod ad multorum bona civium Romanorum pertinet; quorum vobis pro vestra sapientia, Quirites, habenda est ratio diligenter. Nam et publicani, homines honestissimi atque ornatissimi, suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt, quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunae vobis curae esse debent. Etenim, si vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae semper duximus, eum certe ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ceterorum ordinum

recte esse dicemus. Deinde ex ceteris ordinibus homines 18
gnavi atque industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus
vos absentibus consulere debetis, partim eorum in ea
provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Est igitur
humanitatis vestrae magnum numerum [eorum] civium
calamitate prohibere, sapientiae videre multorum civium
calamitatem a re publica seiunctam esse non posse. Etenim
primum illud parvi refert, nos publicanis omissis vectigalia
postea victoria recuperare; neque enim isdem redimendi
facultas erit propter calamitatem neque aliis voluntas
propter timorem. Deinde, quod nos eadem Asia atque 19
idem iste Mithridates initio belli Asiatici docuit, id quidem
certe calamitate docti memoria retinere debemus. Nam
tum, cum in Asia res magnas permulti amiserant, scimus
Romae solutione impedita fidem concidisse. Non enim
possunt una in civitate multi rem ac fortunas amittere, ut
non plures secum in eandem trahant calamitatem. A quo
periculo prohibete rem publicam et mihi credite, id quod
ipsi videtis, haec fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum, quae
Romae, quae in foro versatur, implicata est cum illis
pecuniis Asiaticis et cohaeret; ruere illa non possunt, ut
haec non eodem labefacta motu concidant. Quare videte,
num dubitandum vobis sit omni studio ad id bellum in-
cumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum,
vectigalia maxima, fortunae plurimorum civium coniunctae
cum re publica defendantur.

VIII. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitu- 20
dine pauca dicam. Potest enim hoc dici, belli genus esse
ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum, non esse ita magnum,
ut sit pertimescendum. In quo maxime laborandum est,
ne forte ea vobis, quae diligentissime providenda sunt,
contemnenda esse videantur. Atque ut omnes intellegant
me L. Lucullo tantum impertire laudis, quantum forti viro

et sapienti homini et magno imperatori debeatur, dico eius adventu maximas Mithridati copias omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse, urbemque Asiae clarissimam nobisque amicissimam Cyzicenorum obsessam esse ab ipso rege maxima multitudine et oppugnatam vehementissime, quam L. Lucullus virtute, assiduitate, consilio summis obsidionis
21 periculis liberavit; ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quae ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammata raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam; magnas hostium praeterea copias multis proeliis esse deletas patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui antea populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus fuisset; Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant domicilia regis, omnibus rebus ornatas ac refertas ceterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociae permultas uno aditu adventuque esse captas; regem spoliatum regno patrio atque avito ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentes supplicem contulisse; atque haec omnia salvis populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus esse gesta. Satis opinor haec esse laudis, atque ita, Quirites, ut hoc vos intellegatis, a nullo istorum, qui huic obtrectant legi atque causae, L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.

22 IX. Requiretur fortasse nunc, quem ad modum, cum haec ita sint, reliquum possit magnum esse bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites; non enim hoc sine causa quaeri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur, quam praedicant in fuga fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa maerorque patrius celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a maioribus acceperat et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum

regnum congesserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Haec dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio maeror, hos laetitia tardavit. Hunc (in illo timore et fuga) Tigranes, (rex 23 Armenius,) excepit diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit et adflictum erexit perditumque recreavit. Cuius in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt. Erat enim metus iniectus iis nationibus, quas numquam populus Romanus neque lacessendas bello neque temptandas putavit; erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quae animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum esse exercitum adductum. Ita nationes multae atque magnae novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus tametsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat et proeliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum ac desiderio suorum commovebatur. Hic iam plura non 24 dicam; fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus quam progressio longior quaereretur. Mithridates autem et suam manum iam confirmarat [et eorum, qui se ex ipsius regno collegerant], et magnis adventiciis auxiliis multorum regum et nationum iuvabatur. Nam hoc fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum adflictae fortunae facile multorum opes adliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum, qui aut reges sunt aut vivunt in regno, ut iis nomen regale magnum et sanctum esse videatur. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis 25 numquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum suum recepisset, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei praeter spem acciderat, ut illam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram umquam attingeret, sed in exercitum nostrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, sicut poetae

solent, qui res Romanas scribunt, praeterire me nostram calamitatem, quae tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures imperatoris non ex proelio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor adferret.
26 Hic in illo ipso malo gravissimaque belli offensione L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro iussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum vetere exemplo putavistis, partem militum, qui iam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem M'. Glabrioni tradidit. Multa praetereo consulto; sed ea vos coniectura perspicite, quantum illud bellum factum putetis, quod coniungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatae nationes, suscipiant integrae gentes, novus imperator noster accipiat vetere exercitu pulso.
27 X. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare esset hoc bellum genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum; restat, ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo ac tantis rebus praeficiendo dicendum esse videatur.
X Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praeficiendum putaretis! Nunc vero cum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit, quae res est, quae cuiusquam animum in hac causa dubium
28 facere possit? Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quattuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior umquam aut fuit aut esse debuit? qui e ludo atque pueritiae disciplinis, bello maximo atque acerrimis hostibus, ad patris exercitum atque in militiae disciplinam profectus est; qui extrema pueritia miles in exercitu fuit summi imperatoris, ineunte adulescentia maximi ipse exercitus imperator; qui saepius cum hoste conflixit, quam quisquam

cum inimico concertavit, plura bella gessit quam ceteri legerunt, plures provincias confecit quam alii concupiverunt; cuius adulescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis praeceptis, sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis, non stipendiis, sed triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus esse belli potest, in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna rei publicae? Civile, Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense [mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex bellicosissimis nationibus], servile, navale bellum, varia et diversa genera et bellorum et hostium non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta; nullam rem esse declarant in usu positam militari, quae huius viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. Iam vero virtuti Cn. Pompei quae potest oratio par 29
inveniri? Quid est, quod quisquam aut illo dignum aut vobis novum aut cuiquam inauditum possit adferre? Neque enim illae sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae, quae vulgo existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo, quae tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non fuerunt. Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor L. Sulla huius virtute 30
et subsidio confessus est liberatam; testis est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis non terrore belli, sed consilii celeritate explicavit; testis est Africa, quae magnis oppressa hostium copiis eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit; testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris iter in Hispaniam Gallorum internicione patefactum est; testis est Hispania, quae saepissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit; testis est iterum et saepius Italia, quae cum servili bello taetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit, quod bellum exspectatione eius attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum; testes nunc vero iam omnes sunt orae atque 31

omnes exterae gentes ac nationes, denique maria omnia cum universa, tum in singulis oris omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit praesidium, ut tutus esset, aut tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? Quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, cum aut hieme aut referto praedonum mari navigaret? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus, tam late divisum atque dispersum quis umquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno aut omnibus annis
32 ab uno imperatore confici posse? Quam provinciam tenuistis a praedonibus liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui praesidio classibus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas, quam multas aut metu relictas aut a praedonibus captas urbes esse sociorum? XII. Sed quid ego longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani, longe a domo bellare et propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis ego nostris mare per hos annos clausum fuisse dicam, cum exercitus vestri numquam a Brundisio nisi hieme summa transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, cum legati populi Romani redempti sint? Mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, cum duodecim
33 secures in praedonum potestatem pervenerint? Cnidum aut Colophonem aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumerabilesque alias captas esse commemorem, cum vestros portus atque eos portus, quibus vitam ac spiritum ducitis, in praedonum fuisse potestate sciatis? An vero ignoratis portum Caietae celeberrimum ac plenissimum navium inspectante praetore a praedonibus esse direptum, ex Miseno autem eius ipsius liberos, qui cum praedonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a praedonibus esse sublatos? Nam quid ego Ostiense incommodum atque illam labem atque ignominiam

rei publicae querar, cum prope inspectantibus vobis classis ea, cui consul populi Romani praepositus esset, a praedonibus capta atque oppressa est? Pro di immortales! tantamne unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem adferre rei publicae potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, nunc nullam intra Oceani ostium praedonum navem esse audiatis? Atque haec qua celeritate gesta sint, quamquam 34
videtis, tamen a me in dicendo praetereunda non sunt. Quis enim umquam aut obeundi negotii aut consequendi quaestus studio tam brevi tempore tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter Cn. Pompeio duce tanti belli impetus navigavit? qui nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit, in Sardiniam cum classe venit atque haec tria frumentaria subsidia rei publicae firmissimis praesidiis classibusque munivit. Inde cum se in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispa- 35
niis et Gallia Transalpina praesidiis ac navibus confirmata, missis item in oram Illyrici maris et in Achaiam omnemque Graeciam navibus Italiae duo maria maximis classibus firmissimisque praesidiis adornavit, ipse autem ut Brundisio profectus est, undequinquagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adiunxit; omnes, qui ubique praedones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim unius huius se imperio ac potestati dediderunt. Idem Cretensibus, cum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditionis non ademit obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extrema hieme apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, media aestate confecit.

XIII. Est haec divina atque incredibilis virtus im- 36
peratoris. Quid? ceterae, quas paulo ante commemorare

coeperam, quantae atque quam multae sunt! Non enim bellandi virtus solum in summo ac perfecto imperatore quaerenda est, sed multae sunt artes eximiae huius administrae comitesque virtutis. Ac primum quanta innocentia debent esse imperatores! quanta deinde in omnibus rebus temperantia! quanta fide, quanta facilitate, quanto ingenio, quanta humanitate! quae breviter qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio consideremus. Summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites, sed ea magis ex aliorum contentione quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque
37 intellegi possunt. Quem enim imperatorem possumus ullo in numero putare, cuius in exercitu centuriatus veneant atque venierint? Quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re publica cogitare, qui pecuniam ex aerario depromptam ad bellum administrandum aut propter cupiditatem provinciae magistratibus diviserit aut propter avaritiam Romae in quaestu reliquerit? Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini, qui haec fecerint; ego autem nomino neminem; quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum quantas calamitates, quocumque ventum sit,
38 nostri exercitus ferant, quis ignorat? Itinera quae per hosce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerint, recordamini; tum facilius statuetis, quid apud exteras nationes fieri existimetis. Utrum plures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes an hibernis sociorum civitates esse deletas? Neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipse non continet, neque severus esse in iudicando, qui alios
39 in se severos esse iudices non vult. Hic miramur hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cuius legiones sic in Asiam pervenerint, ut non modo manus tanti exercitus, sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur? Iam vero quem ad modum milites hibernent, cotidie

sermones ac litterae perferuntur; non modo ut sumptum faciat in militem nemini vis adfertur, sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim, non avaritiae perfugium maiores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt. XIV. Age vero, ceteris in rebus qua ille sit 40 temperantia, considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem et tam incredibilem cursum inventum putatis? Non enim illum eximia vis remigum aut ars inaudita quaedam gubernandi aut venti aliqui novi tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertulerunt, sed eae res, quae ceteros remorari solent, non retardarunt; non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad praedam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amoenitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem; postremo signa et tabulas ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum oppidorum, quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. Itaque omnes nunc in iis locis Cn. Pompeium 41 sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de caelo delapsum intuentur; nunc denique incipiunt credere fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam continentia, quod iam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso memoriae proditum videbatur; nunc imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucem adferre coepit: nunc intellegunt non sine causa maiores suos tum, cum ea temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano quam imperare aliis maluisse. Iam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberae querimoniae de aliorum iniuriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui dignitate principibus excellit, facilitate infimis par esse videatur. Iam 42 quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat, in quo ipso inest quaedam dignitas imperatoria, vos, Quirites, hoc ipso ex loco saepe cognovistis. Fidem vero eius quantam inter socios existimari putatis, quam hostes omnes omnium generum sanctissimam iudicarint? Humanitate

iam tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem eius pugnantes timuerint an mansuetudinem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin huic hoc tantum bellum transmittendum sit, qui ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

43 XV. Et quoniam auctoritas quoque in bellis administrandis multum atque in imperio militari valet, certe nemini dubium est, quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum possit. Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus nostris existiment, quis ignorat, cum sciamus homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnant aut metuant aut oderint aut ament, opinione non minus et fama quam aliqua ratione certa commoveri? Quod igitur nomen umquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? cuius res gestae pares? de quo homine vos, id quod maxime facit auctoritatem, tanta et
44 tam praeclara iudicia fecistis? An vero ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis, quo non illius diei fama pervaserit, cum universus populus Romanus referto foro completisque omnibus templis, ex quibus hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depoposcit? Itaque, ut plura non dicam neque aliorum exemplis confirmem, quantum [huius] auctoritas valeat in bello, ab eodem Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumantur; qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello praepositus est imperator, tanta repente vilitas annonae ex summa inopia et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta est unius hominis spe ac nomine, quantam vix ex summa ubertate agrorum diuturna pax effi-
45 cere potuisset. Iam accepta in Ponto calamitate ex eo proelio, de quo vos paulo ante invitus admonui, cum socii pertimuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent, satis

firmum praesidium provincia non haberet, amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, nisi ad ipsum discrimen eius temporis divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Huius adventus et Mithridatem insolita inflammatum victoria continuit et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantem Asiae retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit, quid virtute perfecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate perfecerit, aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit? XVI. Age vero illa res quantam declarat eiusdem hominis 46
apud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam longinquis tamque diversis tam brevi tempore omnes huic se uni dediderunt! quod Cretensium legati, cum in eorum insula noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium in ultimas prope terras venerunt eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt! Quid? idem iste Mithridates nonne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium legatum usque in Hispaniam misit? eum, quem Pompeius legatum semper iudicavit, ii, quibus erat molestum ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem quam legatum iudicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur iam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem multis postea rebus gestis magnisque vestris iudiciis amplificatam quantum apud illos reges, quantum apud exteras nationes valituram esse existimetis.

Reliquum est, ut de felicitate, quam praestare de se 47
ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus, sicut aequum est homines de potestate deorum, timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo, Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario et ceteris magnis imperatoribus non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam saepius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quaedam ad

amplitudinem et ad gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adiuncta fortuna. De huius autem hominis felicitate, de quo nunc agimus, hac utar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut praeterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur, ne aut invisa dis immortalibus oratio nostra aut ingrata esse
48 videatur. Itaque non sum praedicaturus, quantas ille res domi militiae, terra marique, quantaque felicitate gesserit, ut eius semper voluntatibus non modo cives adsenserint, socii obtemperarint, hostes oboedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obsecundarint; hoc brevissime dicam, neminem umquam tam impudentem fuisse, qui ab dis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus auderet optare, quot et quantas di immortales ad Cn. Pompeium detulerunt. Quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirites, cum communis salutis atque imperii, tum ipsius hominis causa, sicuti facitis, velle et optare debetis.

49 Quare cum et bellum sit ita necessarium, ut neglegi non possit, ita magnum, ut accuratissime sit administrandum, et cum ei imperatorem praeficere possitis, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna, dubitatis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis ab dis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rem publicam conservandam atque amplificandam conferatis?

50 XVII. Quodsi Romae Cn. Pompeius privatus esset, hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque mittendus; nunc cum ad ceteras summas utilitates haec quoque opportunitas adiungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis, qui habent, accipere statim possit, quid exspectamus? aut cur non ducibus dis immortalibus eidem, cui cetera summa cum salute rei publicae commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committamus?

51 At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicae,

vestris beneficiis amplissimis adfectus, Q. Catulus, itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunae, virtutis, ingenii praeditus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentiunt. Quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse et valere oportere confiteor; sed in hac causa, tametsi cognoscetis auctoritates contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissimorum, tamen omissis auctoritatibus ipsa re ac ratione exquirere possumus veritatem, atque hoc facilius, quod ea omnia, quae a me adhuc dicta sunt, idem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse et magnum et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. Quid igitur 52 ait Hortensius? Si uni omnia tribuenda sint, dignissimum esse Pompeium, sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere. Obsolevit iam ista oratio, re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate dicendi et in senatu contra virum fortem, A. Gabinium, graviter ornateque dixisti, cum is de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo legem promulgasset, et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra eam legem verba fecisti. Quid? tum, per deos 53 immortales, si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua quam ipsius populi Romani salus et vera causa valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terrae imperium teneremus? An tibi tum imperium hoc esse videbatur, cum populi Romani legati, quaestores praetoresque capiebantur, cum ex omnibus provinciis commeatu et privato et publico prohibebamur, cum ita clausa nobis erant maria omnia, ut neque privatam rem transmarinam neque publicam iam obire possemus?

XVIII. Quae civitas antea umquam fuit non dico 54 Atheniensium, quae satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur, non Carthaginiensium, qui permultum classe ac maritimis rebus valuerunt, non Rhodiorum, quorum usque

ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit, quae civitas, inquam, antea tam tenuis, quae tam parva insula fuit, quae non portus suos et agros et aliquam partem regionis atque orae maritimae per se ipsa defenderet? At hercule aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Romanus, cuius usque ad nostram memoriam nomen invictum in navalibus pugnis permanserit, magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis
55 atque imperii caruit; nos, quorum maiores Antiochum regem classe Persemque superarunt omnibusque navalibus pugnis Carthaginienses, homines in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimosque, vicerunt, ii nullo in loco iam praedonibus pares esse poteramus; nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos praestare poteramus, tum, cum insula Delos tam procul a nobis in Aegaeo mari posita, quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta divitiis, parva, sine muro, nihil timebat, idem non modo provinciis atque oris Italiae maritimis ac portubus nostris, sed etiam Appia iam via carebamus; et iis temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani in hunc ipsum locum escendere, cum eum nobis maiores nostri exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum
56 reliquissent! XIX. Bono te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit ea, quae sentiebatis; sed tamen in salute communi idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit quam auctoritati vestrae obtemperare. Itaque una lex, unus vir, unus annus non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit, sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus
57 gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare. Quo mihi etiam indignius videtur obtrectatum esse adhuc, Gabinio dicam anne Pompeio an utrique, id quod est verius, ne

legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat ad tantum bellum legatum, quem velit, idoneus non est, qui impetret, cum ceteri ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias, quos voluerunt, legatos eduxerint, an ipse, cuius lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet gloriae eius imperatoris atque eius exercitus, qui consilio ipsius ac periculo est constitutus? An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caelius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omnes honoris causa nomino, cum tribuni plebi fuissent, anno proximo legati esse potuerunt; in uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per vos ipse constituit, etiam praecipuo iure esse deberet? De quo legando consules spero ad senatum relaturos. Qui si dubitabunt aut gravabuntur, ego me profiteor relaturum; neque me impediet cuiusquam inimicum edictum, quo minus vobis fretus vestrum ius beneficiumque defendam, neque praeter intercessionem quicquam audiam, de qua, ut arbitror, isti ipsi, qui minantur, etiam atque etiam, quid liceat, considerabunt. Mea quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius belli maritimi rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio socius ascribitur, propterea quod alter uni illud bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit, alter delatum susceptumque confecit. 58

XX. Reliquum est, ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur. Qui cum ex vobis quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri, cepit magnum suae virtutis fructum ac dignitatis, cum omnes una prope voce in eo ipso vos spem habituros esse dixistis. Etenim talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille non et consilio regere et integritate tueri et virtute conficere 59

possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissime dissentio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac minus diuturna vita, hoc magis res publica, dum per deos immortales licet, 60 frui debet summi viri vita atque virtute. At enim 'ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta maiorum.' Non dicam hoc loco maiores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse, non dicam duo bella maxima, Punicum atque Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore esse confecta duasque urbes potentissimas, quae huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Carthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas; non commemorabo nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum Iugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis 61 bellum administraret; in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova summa (Q. Catuli voluntate) constituta, recordamini.

XXI. Quid tam novum quam adulescentulum privatum exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficere? confecit. Huic praeesse? praefuit. Rem optime ductu suo gerere? gessit. Quid tam praeter consuetudinem quam homini peradulescenti, cuius aetas a senatorio gradu longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari, Siciliam permitti atque Africam bellumque in ea provincia administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute, bellum in Africa maximum confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum quam equitem Romanum triumphare? At eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed omnium etiam studio visendam et concele- 62 brandam putavit. Quid tam inusitatum, quam ut, cum duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule

mitteretur? missus est. Quo quidem tempore cum esset non nemo in senatu, qui diceret 'non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule,' L. Philippus dixisse dicitur 'non se illum sua sententia pro consule, sed pro consulibus mittere.' Tanta in eo rei publicae bene gerendae spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius adulescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare, quam ut ex senatus consulto legibus solutus consul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset? quid tam incredibile, quam ut iterum eques Romanus ex senatus consulto triumpharet? Quae in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt quam haec, quae in hoc uno homine videmus. Atque 63
haec tot exempla tanta ac tam nova profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum eiusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

XXII. Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non ferendum illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompei dignitate a vobis comprobatam semper esse, vestrum ab illis de eodem homine iudicium populique Romani auctoritatem improbari, praesertim cum iam suo iure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnes, qui dissentiunt, possit defendere, propterea quod isdem istis reclamantibus vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello praedonum praeponeretis. Hoc si vos temere fecistis et rei 64
publicae parum consuluistis, recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur; sin autem vos plus tum in re publica vidistis, vos iis repugnantibus per vosmet ipsos, dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulistis, aliquando isti principes et sibi et ceteris populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur.

Atque in hoc bello Asiatico et regio non solum militaris illa virtus, quae est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliae

quoque virtutes animi magnae et multae requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria regnisque interiorum [nationum] ita versari nostrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud nisi de hoste ac de laude cogitet. Deinde, etiam si qui sunt pudore ac temperantia moderatiores, tamen eos esse tales propter
65 multitudinem cupidorum hominum nemo arbitratur. Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exteras nationes propter eorum, quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines et iniurias. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? Urbes iam locupletes et copiosae requiruntur, quibus causa belli propter diripiendi cupiditatem inferatur.
66 Libenter haec coram cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et clarissimis viris, disputarem; noverunt enim sociorum vulnera, vident eorum calamitates, querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis an hostium simulatione contra socios atque amicos? Quae civitas est in Asia, quae non modo imperatoris aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum animos ac spiritus capere possit?

XXIII. Quare, etiam si quem habetis, qui collatis signis exercitus regios superare posse videatur, tamen, nisi erit idem, qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum coniugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazaque regia manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit, non erit idoneus, qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque
67 mittatur. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse, quae locuples sit, ecquam esse locupletem, quae istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit. Videbat enim praetores locupletari quotannis pecunia publica praeter paucos, neque nos quicquam aliud adsequi classium nomine, nisi ut detrimentis

accipiendis maiore adfici turpitudine videremur. Nunc qua cupiditate homines in provincias et quibus iacturis, quibus condicionibus proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda omnia esse non arbitrantur. Quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non cum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus. Quare nolite dubitare, quin 68 huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter tot annos unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant.

Quodsi auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis, est vobis auctor vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius, cuius tantae res gestae terra marique exstiterunt, ut, cum de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior esse nemo debeat; est C. Curio, summis vestris beneficiis maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentia praeditus, est Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognovistis, est C. Cassius, integritate, virtute, constantia singulari. Quare videte, horumne auctoritatibus illorum orationi, qui dissentiunt, respondere posse videamur.

XXIV. Quae cum ita sint, C. Manili, primum istam 69 tuam et legem et voluntatem et sententiam laudo vehementissimeque comprobo; deinde te hortor, ut auctore populo Romano maneas in sententia neve cuiusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi perseverantiaeque arbitror; deinde, cum tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, quantam iterum nunc in eodem homine praeficiendo videmus, quid est, quod aut de re aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego autem, quicquid est in me studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii, quicquid hoc beneficio populi Romani atque hac potestate praetoria, quicquid auctoritate, fide, constantia possum, id omne ad hanc rem conficiendam tibi et populo Romano polliceor ac

70 defero; testorque omnes deos, et eos maxime, qui huic loco temploque praesident, qui omnium mentes eorum, qui ad rem publicam adeunt, maxime perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cuiusquam, neque quo Cn. Pompei gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem, neque quo mihi ex cuiusquam amplitudine aut praesidia periculis aut adiumenta honoribus quaeram, propterea quod pericula facile, ut hominem praestare oportet, innocentia tecti repellemus, honorem autem neque ab uno neque ex hoc loco, sed eadem illa nostra laboriosissima ratione vitae, si vestra
71 voluntas feret, consequemur. Quam ob rem, quicquid in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id ego omne me rei publicae causa suscepisse confirmo, tantumque abest, ut aliquam mihi bonam gratiam quaesisse videar, ut multas me etiam simultates partim obscuras, partim apertas intellegam mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutiles suscepisse. Sed ego me hoc honore praeditum, tantis vestris beneficiis adfectum statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem et rei publicae dignitatem et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum meis omnibus commodis et rationibus praeferre oportere.

# NOTES.

N.B. *In references to passages in the Speech the first number refers to the small section, the second to the line on the page. L and S = Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary, H = the Harleian MS, from the collation of Mr A. C. Clark* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1892).

## Page 1.

1 1 **frequens conspectus vester**: 'the sight of your crowded assembly' = *conspectus vestrae frequentiae*, and cf. 22, l. 29 *eorum collectio dispersa.*

2 **hic locus**: the rostra in the forum, see note on 55, l. 22.

**ad agendum** sc. *cum populo*: to address the people in a public assembly, for the purpose of obtaining their approval or rejection of a proposal. This was the privilege of magistrates, and was now open to Cicero, for the first time, as praetor.

'Full of honour for the magistrate, of distinction for the orator.' L and S render *ornatissimus* 'admirably adapted,' but it seems better to take it as a rhetorical variation on *amplissimus* in the sense of 'distinguished' or 'illustrious.'

For note on Cicero's use of *amplus* see 37, l. 12.

4 **hoc aditu laudis**: a favourite metaphor, 'avenue to fame.' Cf. in literal sense, 21, l. 15 *uno aditu adventuque*, and 42, l. 26 *faciles aditus ad eum privatorum*, of Pompey's being easy of access.

5 **voluntas**: 'inclination.'

**rationes**: 'plan of life,' the Latin idiom often employs the plural to express an abstract idea where we use the singular, cf. 28, l. 29 *pueritiae disciplinis:* but cf. 70, 10 with an adj. *laboriosissima ratione vitae.* The word *ratio* in Latin can be used with almost as great a

variety of meaning as *res*. Most of the usages can be readily traced back to the root-idea of *reckoning* either in the sphere of 'business' or of 'thought.' The following instances occur in this speech :

(1) 'business.' 17, l. 28 *quorum habenda est ratio*, 'account must be taken of'; 17, l. 29 *suas rationes et copias*, 'business interests.' Cf. 71, l. 20; 19, l. 19 *haec ratio pecuniarum*, 'system of finance'; 60, l. 8 'calculation.'

(2) 'thought,' reckoning as reasoning. 43, l. 14 *aliqua ratione certa*, definite ground or reason, as opp. to *opinio et fama*. Cf. 51, l. 3; 51, l. 8 *ipsa re ac ratione*, 'the logic of facts.'

(3) 'manner, method, plan.' *vitae rationes;* 3, l. 6 *ratione dicendi*, 'style of speaking,' cf. *via et ratione*, 'methodically.'

7 **per aetatem** : 'owing to my age,' i.e. he was too young. For *per* cf. *si per te licet*. The Harleian MS. omits the words, and Clark looks upon them as a gloss on *antea*. Cicero could not have exercised the *ius agendi* till he was praetor, but he might have been invited as a *privatus* to speak. He was elected to his office, as he himself says, *suo anno* (de Offic. 2, 17, 59), at the proper age.

**huius auctoritatem loci** : 'a position of such authority,' and cf. 10, l. 10. *auctoritas* seems to supply the lack of an adjective here, and the phrase = so authoritative a position.

8 **perfectum...industria** : 'nothing save the finished product of talent and pains-taking industry.'

9 **tempus...temporibus** : there is a play on the words : *temporibus* is best explained by *periculis* in l. 12, it means 'emergencies,' perils arising from criminal cases. Cf. pro Archia, 6, 12 *ita vivo, ut a nullius umquam me tempore...otium meum abstraxerit.*

10 **transmittendum** : 'should be devoted.' Cf. 42, l. 4.

2 11 **iis qui defenderent** : the consecutive subjunctive. The sense is 'men suitable to defend,' 'fit champions of your cause.'

13 **versatus** : 'employed in,' with perhaps the idea of 'limited to.' Cicero stuck to his work at the bar, and left politics alone for the time. *Caste* means that he was above being bribed. 'Blamelessly and honourably.'

**iudicio** : the people, as the electorate, pass judgment on their public men by bestowing or withholding office. Cf. 43, l. 18; 46, l. 23; 63, l. 20.

**fructum** : 'reward,' so also in l. 3.

14 **propter dilationem comitiorum** : the praetors were elected in the *comitia centuriata*. On the occasion of Cicero's election the

meeting was twice postponed: ad Att. 1, 11, 2 *nec, quando futura sint comitia, sciri.* The reason for this is not known. According to Dio Cassius, street-rioting by the partisans of the candidates was the cause. As Cicero received the votes of all the centuries (*cunctis suffragiis*, de Off. 2, 17, 59), his name was proclaimed first (*primus* or *primo loco renuntiatus*) by the presiding magistrate, as there could be no doubt about his election. The claims of the other candidates were being decided by the counting of the votes (*diribitio*) when the interruption occurred.

16 **quid...iudicaretis**, etc.: Cicero means that the people by electing him showed their approval of his course of life (*vitae rationes*) and advised future candidates to follow his example.

18 **honoribus mandandis**: 'by conferring high office on me': *honor* is the regular word in Cic. for public office, position of dignity. For the constr. cf. 67, l. 33 *detrimentis accipiendis.* Our idiom prefers as a rule to use two substantives, the one dependent on the other, e.g. Liv. 6, 14, 11 *contentus possidendis agris*, where we should say, 'with the occupation of the fields'; cf. *ab urbe condita.*

19 **ad agendum**: see 1, l. 2. **vigilanti**: 'to a man of active mind.'

20 **ex forensi usu**: 'practice at the bar,' in the law-courts, which were in the neighbourhood of the *forum.* Ovid (Tristia 4, 10, 18) says of his brother, who was intended for the bar, that he was *fortia verbosi natus ad arma fori.*

## Page 2.

1 **si quid**: almost=*quidquid*; used with deprecatory force. So also in l. 2, where Cicero, according to his usual habit, depreciates his own eloquence.

3 **ei quoque rei**: the dat. is governed by *tribuendum*: the *rei* refers to *dicendo*, his ability as an orator, *dicendi facultati.*

4 **illud**, as often, refers to what follows.

5 **laetandum**: *id laetor* I rejoice at this: neuter accusative with intr. verb. So with acc. and inf. ad Att. 14, 14 *libertatem esse recuperatam laetabor.*

6 **causa**: a theme, subject for discourse.

7 **oratio**: subject-matter, as we say, 'to be at a loss for words, or something to say.'

8 **singulari eximiaque**: 'unique and excellent,' i.e. rare in kind and in degree.

**virtute**: here = 'merit.' See note on 27, l. 23.

10 **modus**: limit, 'I shall have to aim at compression rather than at fluency.'

4 12 **ducitur**: 'originates,' = *initium ducit.* Cf. Brut. 5, 21 *hinc tum ductus est sermo.*

**grave**: 'serious,' cf. 23, l. 11 *gravis atque vehemens opinio.*

13 **vectigalibus**: from nom. *vectigales*, 'tributaries,' 'payers of tribute,' as also in 7, l. 19. Cf. Livy 21, 41, 2 *vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani.* The datives are best taken with *bellum infertur.*

14 **Mithridate et Tigrane**: see Introduction, 2, 3, and 19.

**relictus**: 'left unpunished.'

15 **Asiam**: the Roman province, see Introd. 1.

16 **Equitibus Rom. honestissimis viris**: 'my worthy friends, the Roman knights.' The beginner should note this idiom, which can often be rendered into English without an apposition. Thus in 10, l. 9 *Lucullo summo viro* means 'the great' or 'the distinguished L.' The idiom is partly due to the lack of a definite article in Latin, but it also illustrates the logical clearness and love of distinctness which characterized the Romans. The same tendency is shown in their dislike of attaching two epithets, without the copula, to the same noun. Roman precision requires *bella multa et magna* where we are content with the less accurate phrase, 'many great wars.'

**Equites**: the Equites were originally the cavalry of the state, but by the time of Marius they had ceased to serve as horse-soldiers in the army, their place being taken by foreign auxiliaries. This change was hastened by the Lex Sempronia, B.C. 123. This law called into existence the Ordo Equester, that is, the class of citizens who possessed an equestrian fortune. This new and rapidly increasing moneyed class soon became a force in politics. As the financiers of Rome they found a rich field for speculation in farming the taxes of the Provinces. The tax-farmers were the *publicani*, the publicans of the New Testament, and Cicero often uses the term as identical with *equites*: see 16, l. 18; and 17, l. 28.

17 **aguntur**: 'are at stake,' cf. 6, l. 1.

**magnae res occupatae**: 'vast sums invested in the farming of your taxes': *res*, plural because the property of several individuals is implied, so also *pecuniae* in 18, l. 4. *vectigalibus* here from nom. *vectigalia.*

18 **pro necessitudine**: 'by virtue of' or 'on the strength of' the

close tie that connects me with that order. Cicero came of a *familia equestris*. For the use of *pro* cf. 17, l. 27 *pro vestra sapientia*, and 52, l. 15.

5 21 **nunc vestra**: Bithynia was bequeathed to Rome in B.C. 75. See Introd. 8. From this point Cicero gives in Oratio Obliqua the statement of their case which the equites had laid before him.

23 **vectigalibus** as in 4, l. 13, or according to Halm of the countries that pay tribute.

24 **magnis rebus gestis**: 'after' or 'in spite of his great achievements.'

**huic qui successerit**: 'his successor (Glabrio) is wholly unprepared for....' *Huic* is = *Lucullo*, governed by *successerit*: supply *eum* from *qui* as subject of *paratum esse*. For Glabrio see Introd. 12, and 19. *successerit* the subjunctive is due to the Oratio Obliqua; but note in l. 21 *quae nunc vestra provincia est*, an explanatory remark of the speaker, which formed no part of the statement which he is quoting. In such subordinate clauses the indicative is retained.

27 **deposci atque expeti**: the emphasis of two synonymous verbs thus used for rhetorical effect is often best given in English by a verb and adverb; 'is urgently demanded.' Cf. 57, l. 1 *expetenti ac postulanti*.

6 30 **de genere**: 'the character of the war,' i.e. its urgency: see 20, l. 28, and 27, l. 15.

32 **quod**: grammatically refers to *genus*, logically to *belli*, as must also *in quo* in l. 1.

33 **quod debeat**: for the mood cf. 2, l. 11.

**persequendi**: sc. *belli*, 'to its zealous prosecution.' *Persequi* here means to prosecute, continue, in 11, l. 28 it is used in the sense of to punish or avenge, so in Pro Murena, 21, 44 *acceptam iniuriam persequi non placet?*

PAGE 3.

2 **cum...tum**: lit. while...so also, i.e. 'not only...but also.'

4 **multa**: notice the position of the word, and how for clearness Cicero marks it off from *magna et gravia*, and cf. note on 64, l. 1.

5 **certissima**: 'the most assured sources of revenue': for another use of *certus* see 12, l. 7. This usage must also be carefully distinguished from *certum vectigal*, 'a fixed tribute,' e.g. Verr. 3, 6, 12 *ceteris impositum vectigal est certum quod stipendiarium dicitur*, see note on 15, l. 11.

6 **requiretis**: 'you will look in vain for (cf. *desidero*) all that adorns peace and supports war.' *Subsidia belli* = the sinews of war. 'The graces of peace and the sinews of war.'

7 **quibus...consulendum**: 'whose interests you must consult.'

**a vobis** instead of the dative alone, to avoid ambiguity, but H reads *nobis* without *a*, cf. de Or. 1, 105 *gerendus est tibi mos adulescentibus.*

7 9 **appetentes**: present participles used as adjectives govern a genitive, as *patiens laboris*, *patriae amantes*. Cf. 51, l. 33.

10 **macula**: a frequent metaphor in Cicero, cf. *labes*, 33, l. 33. 'The stain incurred in the former war, which has now sunk in and become too deeply ingrained in the name of Rome.'

12 **quod**: because, i.e. 'the fact that,' explaining *macula*.

14 **significatione litt.**: cf. our phrase 'by a stroke of the pen.'

15 **denotavit**: 'marked out for destruction': a rare word. H and the best MSS. read the more ordinary *curavit.*

16 **suscepit**: an unusual phrase for *poenam dedit*, or *subiit.*

17 **regnat**: 'has been and still is reigning.' Twenty-three: this by Roman reckoning tallies with the chronology, 88 to 66 B.C.

19 **in Asiae luce versari**: 'to flaunt himself before the eyes of Asia,' cf. de Sen. 4, 12 *in luce atque in oculis civium*, or 'in the broad daylight of Asia,' *luce* being contrasted with *latebris*. *Versari*, lit. 'to go up and down.' *lux* in metaphor is generally used by Cicero of help, encouragement. Cf. 33, l. 5 *lucem adferre rei publicae*, also 41, l. 22.

8 21 **insignia victoriae**: that is the triumph, etc.: Cicero wants to keep the play on *victoriae*, *victoriam*. 'The shadow of victory without the substance,' or closer, 'the outward signs.'

23 **Murena**: it is difficult to understand why he triumphed at all. See Introd. 6.

26 **quod egerunt**: (1) as the passage stands, *egerunt* would appear to be used absolutely, and is so taken by most edd. 'Praise must be bestowed on them because they were active (*strenui* not *otiosi*), allowance must be made for them because they left something undone, did not finish their work.

Among the absolute uses of *ago* nothing like this is to be found, and it is difficult to believe that Cicero could have used *reliquerunt* in this way.

(2) If *quod* could be taken as the relative, in loose construction with *laus est tribuenda*, etc., the rendering 'they must be praised for

what they did, pardoned for what they left undone,' suggests itself, but I cannot find a parallel for so lax a sentence, which is more Greek than Latin.

(3) H reads *egerunt triumphum*, and Clark sees in *triumphum* an early conjecture to fill up a *lacuna*. For the missing word he suggests *tanta*, obelised from confusion with *danda* which follows.

27 **res publica**: the separation of the words has point here, *res* must be allowed its full force, the meaning is 'the state of the country,' 'the crisis at home.' There was no formal recall, nor could there be, as Sulla was deposed and proscribed at the time, and his enemies were in power.

Note that *res publica*, not *respublica*, is the correct form, and that it has other meanings besides that of republic or commonwealth, for instance 'public' or 'political life,' in 64, l. 27 *plus tum in re publica vidistis*, and in 70, l. 3 *qui ad rem publicam adeunt*. Cf. the notes on these passages.

9 29 **reliquum tempus**: 'devoted the interval not to obliterating the memory of the past war.' For **contulit** cf. Arch. 9, 19 *praesertim cum omne ingenium contulerit ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam*: and see 17, l. 30.

**ad oblivionem** probably means to make the Romans forget past hostilities.

30 **novi**: sc. *belli*.

31 **ornasset**: *ornare* is the technical term for fitting out or equipping a ship or fleet. Cf. 20, l. 2 and 21, l. 14 of land forces and fortresses.

33 **potuisset**: Eberhard reads *potuit*, but the best MSS. support the reading in the text, which must be explained as a case of attraction, *potuisset* being attracted into the tense and mood of the verbs which precede and follow it; cf. Cic. de Or. 2, 4, 16 *non committam, ut, dum vereare tu ne sis ineptus, me esse iudices*, where *verere* becomes *vereare*.

**Bosporanis**: see Introd. 3, and 6. The dative is governed by *bellum inferre* which takes either this construction or the accusative with a prep., *in* or *contra*.

## PAGE 4.

1 **legatos ac litteras**: 'envoys with dispatches.'

2 **eos duces**: Sertorius (see Introd. 8). This remarkable man carried on the struggle of the Marian party in Spain after the

return of Sulla from the East. He endeared himself to the natives, educated the sons of the Spanish chiefs, and kept both Metellus and Pompey at bay for years. His death alone put an end to the war: Introd. 14.

3 **disiunctissimis maximeque diversis**: i.e. in the East and in the West; 'in regions most widely sundered and remote,' or 'at opposite ends of the earth,' and cf. 31, l. 8 *tam late divisum atque dispersum*, 46, l. 11 *ex locis tam longinquis tamque diversis*.

4 **uno consilio**: 'in concert.'

**binis**: *bini* takes the place of *duo* with substantives which are used in the plural only, or with those which have a different meaning in the plural as compared with the singular. Cf. *bina castra*, *binae litterae*.

5 **ancipiti contentione**: 'you might be distracted by a twofold attack upon your supremacy'; Caesar thus uses *anceps* of an attack from two sides, or in front and rear, e.g. B. G. 1, 26 *ancipiti proelio*. The derived sense of 'dangerous,' 'hazardous,' does not occur in Cicero. For *distringo* in the sense of 'to make a diversion against an enemy,' cf. Livy 35, 18 *Hannibalem mittendum in Africam esse ad distringendos Romanos*.

For **de imperio** = *uter imperaret* cf. de off. 1, 38 *sic cum Celtiberis*, *cum Cimbris bellum*, *ut cum inimicis*, *gerebatur*, *uter esset* (for existence), *non uter imperaret* (for supremacy).

10 6 **Sertorianae atque Hispaniensis**: the English idiom requires the subst. instead of the adj. here, 'the danger that threatened us from the West, from Sertorius and Spain,' so *in altera parte*, 'in the East'; see Introd. 14 for Sertorius.

7 **firmamenti ac roboris**: 'strength and support'; Cicero often couples these words in metaphor, cf. pro Mur. 28, 58 *firmamentum ac robur totius accusationis*: cf. also 17, l. 33 *firmamentum ceterorum ordinum*.

8 **divino**: not as strong as our 'divine'; translate by 'marvellous,' or 'excellent.' **singulari**: see note on 3, l. 8.

9 **summo viro**: see note on 4, l. 16.

10 **initia illa rerum gestarum**: *initia* takes the place of an adj. which was lacking in Latin: we must translate 'his achievements at the outset,' cf. 1, l. 7 *huius auctoritatem loci*.

11 **felicitati**: 'good fortune'; see note on *felicitas* 28, l. 27.

**haec...acciderunt**: 'his recent misfortunes at the close.' See Introd. 12.

13 **alio loco**: 20, l. 32.

14 **ut...videatur**: 'so as to make it clear that my words neither rob him of his true fame, nor ascribe to him a fame that is false.'

11 16 **exorsus**: occurs only here in Cicero, it is not equivalent to *exordium*; 'since that is the point with which my speech began.'

17 **videte**: 'see to it' (syn. *reputo, considero*). Cf. Lael. 3, 10 *viderint sapientes*, 'let the philosophers see to it.'

**putetis**: the subjunctive is dependent on *videte* but appears to add nothing to the sense. It is as if we should say, 'bethink you what frame of mind you think you must adopt.' This form of expression, which is common in Cicero, is however held by Halm to be not merely pleonastic; he compares it to the Greek use of the optative with ἄν, and illustrates his meaning from 26, l. 10 *coniectura perspicite, quantum illud bellum factum sit*, 'how great that war has grown,' whereas the *factum putetis* of the text implies 'how great (in your opinion) it may have grown.' For other instances see *videatur* in 27, l. 17, and *putaretis* l. 21, also *existimetis* 46, l. 25.

18 **maiores nostri**: Cicero is referring to the campaigns against the Illyrian pirates in 229 B.C., by conquering whom the Romans earned the gratitude of the Greek states that had suffered from their depredations.

19 **iniuriosius**: the comparative has a depreciatory force as often; 'somewhat unfairly,' or 'in a rather high-handed fashion.' Cf. l. 22 *appellati superbius*, 'addressed somewhat arrogantly.'

20 **nuntio**: 'a message,' used in this sense in both sing. and pl. Cf. *acerbum nuntium alicui perferre* Cic. Balb. 28, 64, and *nuntii tristes* Att. 3, 17, 1, our 'bad news.' For the circumstances see Introd. 4.

21 **quo tandem animo**: 'what, I ask, ought to be your feelings?' *tandem* emphasises the question like the Greek δή. Cf. Cat. 1, 1 *Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?* With *animo esse* cf. 12, l. 1 *quo animo ferre?* the descriptive ablative or abl. of quality.

**legati**: Cicero purposely understates the case in order to bring out the contrast between the Romans of his day and their forefathers. As a matter of fact the Roman envoys were grossly insulted by the mob and the leaders of the Achaean league, Diaeus and Critolaus, who forced on the war which ended in the destruction of Corinth B.C. 146.

23 **lumen Graeciae**: for the metaphor cf. Milton, P. R. 4. 240

'Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts, and eloquence.' C. uses it of persons in Cat. 3, 10, 24 *tum vero, clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis exstincta sunt.*

**voluerunt**: 'determined,' or 'resolved that.' Cf. *velitis iubeatis*, the formula by which the presiding magistrate in the comitia submitted a measure to the will of the people.

24 **legatum consularem**: Aquillius is referred to, see Introd. 4: he was bound to an ass, paraded with every indignity, and finally killed, in derision of his greed for money, by having molten gold poured down his throat.

25 **omni supplicio**: 'every kind of torture.'

26 **libertatem imminutam**: notice the chiasmus *lib. imm.* )( *erept. vitam*, and note the English equivalent idiom, 'the least infraction of liberty )( the loss of life.' The difference of idiom is due largely to the dearth of abstract nouns in Latin. For a good illustration cf. Hor. Odes 2, 4, 10 *et ademptus Hector tradidit fessis leviora tolli Pergama Graiis*, 'the loss of Hector.'

27 **ius**: we use the plural, 'the rights of envoys.'

28 **verbo**: the sing. is intentional, 'by a word.'

**persecuti**: see note on 6, l. 33.

29 **relinquetis**: 'leave unpunished.' Cf. 4, l. 14.

12 **videte**: see note on 10, l. 17.

**ut pulcherrimum** etc.: 'lest, as it was their pride,...so it may be your shame': note *ut fuit, sic sit.*

30 **tantam imperii gloriam**: 'so glorious an empire.'

33 **quid**: marks a transition, or introduces fresh arguments in support of a proposition.

**quod**: 'the fact that.'

## Page 5.

1 **vocatur**: 'is being brought into,' a frequent use in Cicero. Cf. Cat. 1, 5, 12 *templa deorum...ad exitium et vastitatem vocas.*

5 **cuncta Asia**: 'throughout all Asia'; the preposition is often omitted when the noun has an adj. coupled with it; cf. 31, l. 3 *toto mari. tota Asia* is the more usual expression.

7 **certum**: definite, specified, here 'a particular general'; for this use cf. Cat. 3, 17, 16 *ad certas res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac descriptos habebat.*

**cum praesertim**: 'especially as'; in 14, l. 29 *praesertim cum.*

8 **audent**: their respect for Rome checks them.

9 **sine summo periculo**: they fear the reprisals of other generals, Glabrio, for instance, who was on the spot.

13 10 **in quo summa sint omnia**: 'in whom all the highest qualifications are found.'

11 **propter esse**: *propter* is used adverbially here, 'is nigh at hand.' Cf. 16, l. 16 *propter adsint*, and *coram* in 66, l. 14.

**carent aegrius**: 'wherefore they feel the lack of him the more bitterly.'

15 **taciti rogant**: 'they mutely ask,' the adjective is much more usual than the adverb in this idiom; cf. 48, l. 13 *tacitus optare*. I have adopted the reading of the Harleian in preference to the old reading *tacite*.

16 **dignos quorum**: translate *quorum* as=*ut eorum*, and for the idiom of *dignus qui* with final subjunctive cf. Tuscul. 1, 1 *digna in quibus elaborarent*, 'things worth spending toil on.'

17 **hoc magis**: *hoc* is abl., 'all the more.'

18 **cum imperio**: the praetors of this time were all invested with *proconsulare imperium*.

19 **adventus**: plural, but translate by singular to balance *expugnatione*. For these plural usages cf. *rationes*, *disciplinae*, and see note on 1, l. 5.

21 **praesentem**: 'on the spot,' 'in their midst.' The ablatives *tanta temperantia*, *mansuetudine* etc. must be rendered 'of such,' or 'endowed with such moderation, clemency, etc.' *Temperantia* moderation, self-control, 36, l. 5 and 40, ll. 5—14: *mansuetudo* gentleness, clemency, 42, l. 2 where it is a manifestation of *humanitas* in the sense of kindness, humanity, see 36, l. 6 and 42, l. 33.

23 **commoretur**: H reads *commoretur*, and the subj. would certainly be more usual in a general statement like this. Cicero means 'happy are those, whoever they may be, among whom his stay is most prolonged.' The indicative would point to a particular instance.

14 26 **cum Antiocho**: in behalf of the kings Attalus and Eumenes of Pergamus 192 B.C.

**cum Philippo**: Philip of Macedon had joined with Antiochus in encroaching upon Pergamus, Rhodes, and Athens, B.C. 215—197.

**cum Aetolis**: the Aetolian League had thrown in its lot with Antiochus, and attacked various Greek towns which appealed to Rome.

27 **cum Poenis**: the first Punic War sprang out of the appeal of the Mamertines in Messana; the second, from the siege of Saguntum.

**studio**: H reads *studiosius* which goes well with *quanto*, 'with how much greater zeal!'

30 **agatur**: 'your chief revenues are at stake,' for *vectigalia aguntur*. *Agitur de* usually means 'the question at issue is....' Cf. 4, l. 17, and 6, l. 1.

31 **tanta**: 'such,' here of deficiency, = *tantula*, so small as compared with the *vectigalia* of Asia.

**tutandas**: the revenues can scarcely maintain the troops required for the protection of the province.

33 **ubertate agrorum et varietate fructuum**: the first of the three main heads of taxation, which are twice enumerated in this chapter. The *decumae*, or tithes upon produce, would be increased by *ubertas agrorum* and *varietas fructuum*, which in Asia included wheat, wine, oil and *fruges minutae*.

## Page 6.

1 **magnitudine pastionis**: the second head, the pasture-lands from which the *scriptura* was derived.

**earum rerum quae exportantur**: 'the multitude of its exports,' the third head, referring to the *portoria*, the harbour and customs dues. For the periphrasis cf. 5, l. 24 *huic qui successerit* = successor.

2 **antecellat**: *antecellere* and *excellere* take a dat. of thing or person excelled, an abl. of the point in which excellence is shown. Cf. pro Mur. 13, 29 *multum isti vestrae exercitationi ad honorem antecellet*, and for *excellere* see this speech 39, l. 30; 41, l. 28.

3 **belli utilitatem**: L and S render 'what is useful for war.' Translate 'what makes war practicable and peace honourable,' and cf. 6, l. 6.

15 6 **cum...tum**: Cicero wants to emphasize the fact that the loss is sustained at the moment when the blow falls, not before.

7 **metus ipse**: 'the mere apprehension of disaster.'

9 **pecuaria**: sc. *res pecuaria* (the conj. of Pluygers), 'the business of cattle-farming.' Halm reads *pascua relinquuntur*, and other readings are *pecua* and *pecora*, but the context seems to require an abstract to balance *agri cultura* and *navigatio*.

The English prefers the concrete, 'the ranches are deserted, the fields left untilled, the trading vessels lie idle.'

Notice that in the enumeration which follows in l. 11 Cic. inverts the order of the three industries, by chiasmus.

11 **ex portu**: the *portoria*, or duties paid on imports and exports, were farmed out like other *vectigalia* to the *publicani*.

**ex decumis**: the provinces paid either a fixed land-tax (*vectigal certum quod stipendiarium dicitur*), or variable duties which were let out at Rome to speculators by the censors. These duties or *decumae* in Asia dated from the *lex Sempronia* of C. Gracchus B.C. 123. The collectors were called *decumani*.

12 **scriptura**: the oldest form of revenue from the *ager publicus*. As Rome extended her conquests, the land of the provinces came under this head. The pasture-lands so let were known as *pascua*, *saltus* or *silva*, those who rented the land (*pecuarii*) paid a duty to the *publicani* according to the number of the cattle grazed, which was registered (*scriptum*) on a list, and hence the name.

13 **terrore belli**: 'scare of war.'

16 15 **exercent atque exigunt**: 'farm and collect them,' the first word applies to the *publicani*, the second to their subordinates.

16 **propter**: cf. 13, l. 11.

17 **excursio**: 'raid' or 'inroad.' Our idiom would suggest *incursio*, but the Romans often invert our point of view, e.g. in the phrase *e regione*, opposite to.

18 **familias**: the word is used in its proper sense for the slaves of a household or establishment. The *publicani* would employ a host of minor officials who, just as in the great Roman households, would naturally belong to the class of slaves.

19 **saltibus**: acc. to Festus *saltus est ubi silvae et pastiones sunt*. There is no need to adopt the reading *salinis*, especially as the three-fold division corresponds to *scriptura*, *decumae*, *portorium*.

20 **custodiis**: this refers to officials whose duty it would be to guard against smuggling.

**magno periculo**: cf. the common phrase *meo periculo*, 'at my own risk.'

22 **calamitate...formidine**: both ablatives must be taken with *liberatos*.

17 24 **ne...quidem**: 'nor again'=*οὐδέ*. It does not necessarily mean 'not even.'

**illud**: see note on 3, l. 4.

25 **essem dicturus**: 'was on the point of speaking.'

26 **quod**: refers to *bellum*, not to *genere*, cf. 6, l. 32.

27 **pro vestra sapientia**: *pro* = 'conformably to,' 'as befits,' i.e. 'with your usual wisdom,' see note on 4, l. 18.

28 **ratio**: see note on 1, l. 5: *rationem habere* with the genitive means to regard, have a care for.

**publicani homines**, etc.: 'the honourable and distinguished class who farm our revenues': there is no exact English equivalent for *publicani*.

29 **rationes et copias**: 'have transferred their businesses and resources.'

30 **ipsorum per se**: 'on their own account,' 'for their own sakes.'

31 **curae**: the so-called predicative dative or dative of service, it can be recognised thus: either (*a*) the nominative of the substantive or (*b*) an adjective similar in form or at least in sense, can be substituted for it without any change of meaning.

Three instances occur in this speech, *curae* here, *fructui* in 16, l. 22, and *praesidio* in 32, l. 12.

32 **nervos**: 'the sinews of the state,' a favourite metaphor for vigour, power. Cicero elsewhere speaks of *nervi belli pecunia*, and *nervi in dicendo*, a usage which we still preserve in such expressions as 'nervous English,' of style. The beginner should remember that the ancients had no 'nerves.'

**ordinem**: Cicero is thinking of the *publicani* in their political capacity, as representing the *equites*. See note on 4, l. 16.

33 **firmamentum**: 'mainstay,' cf. 10, l. 7. Cicero elsewhere uses the same metaphor of the *equites*, pro Plancio 9, 23 *flos equitum Romanorum, ornamentum civitatis, firmamentum rei publicae publicanorum ordine continetur*.

**ceterorum ordinum**: in the wider sense, including all ranks and classes of society, as is clear from what follows. So in Verr. 2, 17 *si cuiquam ordini sive aratorum sive pecuariorum sive mercatorum probatus sit*.

## PAGE 7.

18 3 **absentibus**: 'though absent,' in Asia.

**partim eorum** := *alii eorum*, i.e. the *gnavi atque industrii* at home who have investments in Asia.

4 **pecunias magnas**: not *multas*, which would mean several separate sums. Cf. *magnae copiae*.

**collocatas habent**: 'have vast sums invested.' Cf. 4, l. 18 *res occupatae*.

5 **[eorum]**: not wanted, probably a gloss from *partim eorum*, or due to the doubling of the final syllables of *numerum*.

6 **prohibere**: *aliquem aliqua re* or *ab aliqua re*. Cf. 19, l. 17, and 53, l. 27.

7 **a ré publica**: for *a calamitate rei publicae*, a very common condensation of phrase, cf. 19, l. 26.

8 **parvi refert**: 'it matters little that while neglecting the *publicani* now we shall subsequently, through victory, regain our revenues.' So the passage may be translated, but it is not without difficulty. Endless attempts at emendation have been made. *Recuperare* is explained by Eberhard as present for future, of what is expected with certainty. Many edd. prefer to read *posse* for *postea*. But *publicanis omissis* or *amissis* is the stumbling-block to most. Halm (ed. revised by Laubmann) reads *posse publicanos amissa vectigalia nostra victoria recuperare*; Richter and Eberhard, *rem publicam ipsam illa vectigalia postea victoria recuperare*. None of the conjectures is convincing, and I have therefore retained the text of Müller.

9 **redimendi**: *redimere* is the technical expression for undertaking by contract, and is thus used of the *publicani*. Cicero means that the same contractors will no longer have the means to bid, while others will not care to do so from fear of similar ruin. For *redimere* )( *locare* cf. Horace Odes 3, 1, 34 *huc frequens caementa demittit redemptor*, and Odes 2, 18, 17 *tu secanda marmora locas sub ipsum funus*.

19 11 **quod**: the relative clause first, as often in Latin; the beginner should remember both in composition and in translation how much more common this is than in English. It is generally best to take the antecedent clause first.

14 **tum, cum...amiserant**: the point of time emphasized, and hence the indic. The plupft. indic. generally in Cicero implies indefinite frequency, 'whenever,' so Verr. 5, 10 *cum rosam viderat, tum incipere ver arbitrabatur*. It is noteworthy that the Harleian reads *amiserunt*.

15 **solutione...concidisse**: 'payment was suspended, and there was a collapse of the public credit.'

16 **rem**: 'property,' 'means.' Cf. *res magnas* above.

**ut non**: lit. so as not to, that is 'without involving many more in their own ruin': in sentences restrictive of a preceding statement

(Roby 1704), the principal clause often has *ita*. Cf. Div. in Q. Caecil. 13, 44 *cuius ego ingenium ita laudo ut non pertimescam*, and infra, l. 21.

18 **mihi credite**: parenthetic, so *credo*, *opinor*. It has no influence on the construction of the sentence.

19 **haec fides...ratio**: 'our public credit, our system of finance.'

20 **in foro**: where the *tabernae argentariorum* were situated.

**versatur**: a more picturesque word for *est*, 'exists,' 'prevails'.

**implicata est et cohaeret**: 'are closely interwoven with.' See note on 5, l. 27, and cf. Nägelsbach, p. 321, who quotes *omni natura cohaerente et continuata; adiungit atque adnectit: virtutes inter se nexae et iugatae.*

**illis pec. Asiaticis**: 'the funds in Asia.'

21 **illa...haec**: *illa* refers to *pecuniis Asiaticis*, and, like *illis* in the preceding line, contrasts the more remote ('yonder') with the present and visible (*haec*); a wave of the orator's hand would make the distinction clearer.

23 **incumbere ad**: 'to throw yourselves into.'

26 **cum re publica**: see note on 18, l. 7.

20 28 **belli genus esse necessarium**: in 27, l. 15 Cicero uses the more logical expression *bellum genere ipso necessarium*. Note too that *bellum*, not *belli genus*, is the subject of *non esse ita magnum*.

30 **in quo**: 'and herein,' sc. *in quo dicendo*.

31 **providenda**: 'to be guarded against,' *providere* = 'to see to, make provision for.'

33 **impertire**: to give a share to, to bestow upon, a favourite word with Cicero; he uses it with *consilium*, *potestas*, *dolor*, *molestiae*, etc., always with acc. and dat. Cf. ad Fam. 5, 2, 9 *si aliquid impertivit tibi sui consilii.*

Cicero introduces the eulogy of Lucullus here (he deferred it in 10, l. 13) because he is leading up to the question, which he answers in 22, how can the war still be considered sufficiently serious to require so exceptional a measure as Manilius proposes? He argues that Mithridates must indeed be formidable if in spite of the brilliant successes of Lucullus he remains unconquered.

**forti viro**: 'a gallant officer.'

PAGE 8.

1 **dico**: emphatic, 'I affirm.'

2 **Mithridati**: probably genitive, an alternative form to *Mithridatis*,

cf. 23, l. 16 where H reads *Tigrani*. Taking it as dative, translate, 'M. had a huge force fully equipped and provided.' For *ornare* see note on 9, l. 31.

3 **fuisse**: this represents *instructae erant* of Oratio Recta, while *obsessam esse* corresponds to *obsidebatur*. Cyzicus on the Propontis is described by Florus as *nobilis civitas, arce, moenibus, portu turribusque marmoreis Asiaticae plagae litora illustrans*; it was situated on a peninsula, connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus. It was thus a strong position by nature, and the defence of the inhabitants showed that they were no degenerate Hellenes. See Introd. 9.

4 **ab ipso rege**: 'by the king in person.'

6 **assiduitate**: 'persistent efforts,' perhaps 'tenacity.'

**summis periculis**: cf. our phrase 'all the horrors of a siege.'

7 **liberavit**: the indicative in spite of the clause being in *oratio obliqua*. Cicero wishes to emphasize the fact of the rescue.

21 8 **ornatam**: 'well-found.'

**ducibus Sertorianis**: abl. absol., 'under Sertorian leaders.' For the fact see Introd. 8 and 9.

**studio inflammata**: 'fired with the zeal of renegades.' 'The squadron carried 10,000 troops, including the flower of the Roman emigrants. It was destined, according to report, to effect a landing in Italy, and there to rekindle the civil war.' Mommsen, vol. IV. p. 56.

Some edd. read *atque odio* after *studio*.

9 **raperetur**: 'was hurrying.'

12 **ex omni aditu**: 'at every point of approach.'

**clausus**: cf. pro Archia 9, 21 *Populus enim Romanus aperuit L. Lucullo imperante Ponti*um, *et regiis quondam opibus et ipsa natura et regione vallatum*.

14 **ornatas ac refertas**: of the towns equipped for a siege, cf. above l. 2 an almost identical phrase used of *copias*. The Harleian gives *ornata ac referta*, which would apply to the royal palaces, *domicilia*.

15 **uno aditu adventuque**: 'approach and arrival,' a rhetorical amplification='at his mere approach.' Cicero is indulging in gross exaggeration. It took Lucullus nearly two years to complete the reduction of Pontus and its fortresses.

17 **supplicem**: 'as a suppliant.' Note the order, *se* with one clause, *supplicem* with the other.

18 **salvis...integris**: both adjectives are used predicatively and are

emphatic by position: 'without harm to the allies, without loss to the revenues.'

19 **satis** goes with *laudis*.

**haec**: 'what I have been saying'; some edd. read *hoc*, but the plural is quite usual. Eberhard ingeniously conjectures *concessi* for *hoc esse*. In that case *opinor* would be parenthetic. He also proposes to supply *concessi* with *ita*, thus getting over a difficulty of construction, for which see the next note.

20 **ita**: some word seems to be lost here (Mommsen conjectures *edita*), for unless *ut hoc vos intellegatis* could be treated as parenthetic *ita* could hardly belong to *laudatum*; on the other hand it goes very lamely with what precedes it, 'I think that this is sufficient praise, and (that it has been) so (uttered).'

**istorum**: the opponents of the Manilian proposal.

21 **obtrectant**: 'carp at, oppose.' Cf. 57, l. 32.

22 **hoc loco**: see 55, l. 22.

22 23 **requiretur**: 'the question will be asked,' how what remains of the war can be formidable. **magnum** is emphatic by position.

26 **ex eodem Ponto**: Pontus is used loosely of Mithridates' dominions. Colchis, Medea's home, lay to the north of Pontus, and bordered upon it.

27 **Medea illa**: 'the famous Medea,' daughter of Aeetes, king of Colchis. She helped Jason to win the Golden Fleece, and then fled with him, taking with her her brother Absyrtus. She prevented her father from overtaking them by killing Absyrtus and strewing the sea with his limbs, which Aeetes stopped to gather.

Ovid tells the story in Heroides 12, 113—116, and in Tristia 3, 9.

28 **in iis locis qua**. Cf. 44, l. 19 *oram quo*.

29 **persequeretur**: the subjunctive is due to the oratio obliqua, but it also suggests Medea's thought or conjecture as to the route her father was likely to follow.

**eorum collectio dispersa**: a good instance of hypallage or transference of epithet; *dispersa* belongs to *eorum*, 'the scattered remains.' Cf. 1, l. 1 *frequens conspectus vester*.

31 **vim auri**: see Introd. 10: at the battle of Cabira, Mithridates might have been captured had not some bags of gold burst by accident or design and attracted the greed of the Roman soldiers who were pursuing him. The story is told in Plutarch, Lucullus 17.

**pulcherrimarum rerum**: 'works of art.'

PAGE 9.

1 **omnem**: with *vim*.

2 **diligentius**: Cicero uses the mildest word he can substitute for *avidius*; 'too carefully.'

3 **illum**: sc. *Aeeten*.

23 4 **in illo timore et fuga**: 'in fear and flight,' i.e. 'in panic-stricken flight.'

5 **excepit**: not at first, he detained him for some time in semi-confinement: see Introd. 10.

**rebus**: dative with *diffidentem*.

**confirmavit**: 'reassured him.'

6 **adfiictum...recreavit**: keep the metaphor 'raised him up from his abasement, and put new life into his ruined fortunes.' Cicero often couples *adflictum* and *perditum*; cf. in Verrem 2, 3, 212 *provinciam adflictam et perditam erexisti atque recreasti*.

10 **temptandas**: *temptare* less strong than *lacessere*, it means here 'to disquiet, agitate.' Note the implied censure of Lucullus for carrying the war into Tigranes' territory.

11 **alia**: 'besides' (*d'ailleurs*),—in addition to the *metus* and distinct from it.

**gravis atque vehemens**: 'a serious and fanatical belief'; for *grave* cf. 4, l. 12. In Cat. 1, 1, 3 *vehemens et grave* is used of the *senatus consultum*.

12 **pervaserat**: cf. 44, l. 19 *quo non illius diei fama pervaserit*, in the sense of 'reached.'

**fani**: see Introd. 11 with note. For *fanum* cf. 65, l. 9.

14 **nationes**: 'races, peoples,' generally in Cicero of distant and barbarous tribes: the word is sometimes used with a note of contempt, 'a mere tribe' as distinct from *gens*, 'a nation.'

**multae atque magnae**: cf. note on 64, l. 1.

16 **urbem ex T. regno**: *ex* is used partly to avoid the double genitive *Tigranis regni*, also to emphasize the capture of Tigranocerta as an isolated success. Out of all the cities in his dominion Lucullus had captured one.

17 **usus erat**: 'had met with' or 'enjoyed successes in the field.' For this idiom cf. *fortuna*, *honore*, *odio uti*.

18 **desiderio**: of longing especially for the absent or the dead; cf. Horace Od. 1, 24 *Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus tam cari*

*capitis?* Cicero disguises the most serious of the obstacles, the mutiny of the troops.

24 19 **illud**: sc. *ut...quaereretur*, a substantive clause which forms the subject of *fuit*. For *ut* introducing such clauses see 50, l. 28, and 62, l. 31.

20 **progressio**: the reading of the Harleian. The Vulgate *processio* is a rare and late word.

21 **suam manum**: 'the band of his followers.'

22 **eorum** depends on *auxiliis* in l. 23, but Eberhard brackets from *et* to *collegerant* as a gloss on *suam manum*.

24 **accepimus**: 'I have learned.' *Accipere* used especially of the lessons of history, so in Greek ἀκούειν; both words belong to an age when traditions were still vigorous, and men did not yet learn their national history from books.

25 **fortunae**: the plural, because several kings are mentioned (*regum*).

**multorum opes** = *multos opulentos*. Cf. 1, l. 7 *auctoritatem loci*.

26 **in regno**: i.e. under kingly or despotic rule.

25 28 **victus...incolumis**: both adjectives must be taken predicatively, 'when vanquished...when unbeaten.'

29 **optare**: a strong word = 'to desire ardently, to pray for.' Cf. 48, l. 13 *tacitus auderet optare*; note that *est ausus* (indicative) would be represented more naturally in English by a subjunctive '*would have* ventured,' and cf. the same difference of idiom in *longum est dicere*, *satius* or *melius fuit*, etc.

31 **ut**: see 24, l. 19; the *ut* clause expands and explains *eo...quod*, 'the fact that.'

32 **victorem**: noun used as adj. Cf. *tiro exercitus*, *contemptor animus*, *domitor Hispaniae exercitus*, and in English 'grandsire phrase.'

33 **poetae**: the poets referred to are probably Naevius, who wrote in Saturnian verse of the 1st Punic war, and Ennius, whose *Annales* set forth the history of Rome down to his own day. This judicious and patriotic silence was not confined to the poets of Rome, it infected the historians.

The Romans were passionate lovers of glory, and their national pride would tend to make them exaggerate successes and minimise defeats. Cicero illustrates this very naively in one of his letters (ad Fam. 5, 12), where he asks Lucceius, who is writing a history

of his own time, to give a highly coloured account of his consulship. *Itaque te plane rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis*, and again *amorique nostro plusculum etiam, quam concedat veritas, largiare.*

PAGE 10.

3 **ex sermone rumor**: 'the rumour of common talk.' Cf. Cic. Fl. 6, 14 *sermo est tota Asia dissipatus, Cn. Pompeium*, etc. Lucullus heard the news of Triarius' defeat at Ziela, not from a survivor of the field, but through the talk of the natives. See Introd. 11.

26 4 **offensione**: 'reverse,' 'check'; cf. 28, l. 4 where the plural is used.

5 **incommodis**: a common euphemism for serious disaster. Cf. 33, l. 33 *Ostiense incommodum* of the pirates destroying the Roman fleet in the Roman harbour, as great a disgrace and reverse as when in 1667 the Dutch burned the shipping in the Medway, and London for once heard the guns of a hostile fleet.

7 **vetere exemplo**: Cicero appeals to precedent, but the *prorogatio imperii* was no new thing, and he is advocating it in the case of Pompey. The appeal is a mere excuse to hide the real reason for Lucullus' recall, the intrigues of his enemies and especially the *equites*. See Introd. 10.

8 **stipendiis confectis erant**: 'had served their time,' were *emeriti*. Ablative of description, cf. Livy 33, 32 *liberos, immunes, suis legibus esse iubet Corinthios*. This reading, which is supported by the Harleian MS., is to be preferred to *confecti*, 'were worn out with campaigning.'

Mommsen, vol. IV. p. 63, shows that they were not worn out. He speaks of them as the two best legions under Lucullus, but they had served more than their time and had been promised their discharge. See Introd. 6, 10 and 12.

11 **putetis**: see note on 11, l. 17; supply *sit* with *factum*.

**coniungant**: 'carry on jointly,' 'unite in waging.'

12 **integrae**: 'fresh,' untouched, not hitherto involved in the war.

27 14 **quare**: 'I think I have said enough (to show) why...'; for the idiom *verba facere quare* cf. 39, l. 33, where *quem ad modum milites hibernent* depends upon *sermones ac litterae perferuntur*; this brevity is foreign to our idiom which makes us insert 'telling how,' 'describing how.'

17 **tantis rebus**: 'his appointment to a command of such importance.'

**esse videatur**: see note on 11, l. 17; *videatur* is difficult to translate, unless we take it parenthetically 'as it seems.' *Esse videatur* was a favourite ending with Cicero, and its insertion here is best explained by Halm's comment on *praeficiendum putaretis* in l. 21, as due to a desire to round off his sentence.

18 **innocentium**: 'disinterested,' 'upright.'

19 **deliberatio difficilis**: 'that it might be difficult for you to decide.'

22 **eorum...qui nunc sunt**: 'the men of to-day,' 'our contemporaries' (*aequales*); for the periphrasis cf. 5, l. 24, and 14, l. 1.

23 **antiquitatis memoriam**: a vague phrase for *gloriam eorum qui apud antiquas memorantur;* abstract for concrete, 'the records of the past,' for 'the great men recorded in the past.'

**virtute**: 'merit,' 'general excellence,' the natural gifts that form the endowment of a great general. *virtus* means (1) the quality or qualities that make a *man* (*vir*), i.e. manliness, under which head may be included strength, vigour, courage, capacity, worth, excellence, virtue. It is used especially of military talents, in the sense of courage, gallantry, fortitude. For example in 29, l. 16 *labor, fortitudo, industria, celeritas* are given as *virtutes imperatoriae*, elements of the general *virtus* attributed to Pompey in l. 13. In 33, l. 4 Pompey displays *incredibilis ac divina virtus* in clearing the sea of pirates. In 47, l. 31 the *virtus* of Maximus and Marcellus, is contrasted with *fortuna*, merit opposed to luck.

(2) virtue in the sense of moral perfection, e.g. in 36, l. 2 *bellandi virtus* is supplemented by the moral and intellectual qualities; cf. 64, l. 32. In 61, l. 26 *virtus* is coupled with *innocentia* and *gravitas*. It is unfortunate that our English derivative, virtue, which the Elizabethans employed with the freedom of classical usage, has been confined to the 'moral' sense alone.

28 25 **summo imperatore**: 'the ideal general.'

26 **res**: 'qualities,' 'qualifications.' It is worth while to notice some of the chief uses of *res* in this Speech. Property, fortunes, interests: 4, l. 17 *magnae res aguntur*, 5, l. 20 *rerum suarum*, 17, l. 30 *res et fortunae*, and 19, l. 14 *res magnas*, sums of money; *res gestae*, achievements, *passim*; 14, l. 1 *res quae exportantur*, exports; 22, l. 32 *res pulcherrimae*, works of art; 25, l. 1 *res Romanas scribere*, history; 28, l. 26 *res militaris*, the art of war;

44, l. 28 *res frumentaria*, corn; 53, l. 28 *res transmarina*, business across sea; 54, l. 33 *classe ac maritimis rebus*, naval matters; 46, l. 10 *illa res*, the circumstance that...; 51, l. 7 *re ac ratione*, the logic of facts; 52, l. 14 *re* opposed to *verbis*, fact to argument. For the different shades of meaning that attach to *res publica* see note on 8, l. 27.

**virtutem**: as one of the four subordinate qualifications, distinct from the general *virtus* in l. 23; 'capacity' seems to be the best word.

27 **auctoritatem**: further defined in 43, l. 7 as influence, power to command, dependent on reputation.

**felicitatem**: 'good-fortune.' Many great generals in ancient and modern times have had superstitious notions about their luck; Napoleon had a fatalist belief in his own good-fortune; Sulla adopted the title of Felix as the special favourite of heaven; and the devotion of their soldiers to successful generals is largely based on the same idea.

28 **esse debuit**: 'was bound to be,' sc. in virtue of his early training (*pueritiae disciplinis*): 'ought to have been' is ambiguous.

29 **bello maximo...hostibus**: ablatives of description, 'in a serious war, and against formidable foes'; see Introd. 13.

31 **extrema pueritia**: the *toga virilis* was assumed in the sixteenth year. Cicero is referring to the war with Cinna, in which Pompey's father commanded the army of the Senate.

32 **imperator**: when as a young man of twenty-two he raised an army to meet and support Sulla on his return from Asia, B.C. 83.

33 **hoste**: an enemy in arms or of one's country, opp. to *inimicus* a private enemy (L and S).

## PAGE 11.

1 **concertavit**: especially of legal actions, cases in court.

2 **legerunt**: Halm quotes Sall. Jug. 85, where Marius says of himself *quae illi audire aut legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi litteris, ea ego militando didici.*

**provincias**: in the wider sense of 'commissions,' 'commands.'

4 **suis imperiis**: when Pompey was asked by the censor at the review of the knights whether he had served all the campaigns required by law, he answered, "I have made them all under my

own leadership." Plut. Pomp. 22 *πάσας ἐστράτευμαι, καὶ πάσας ὑπ' ἐμαυτῷ αὐτοκράτορι.*

**offensionibus**: cf. 26, l. 4.

5 **stipendiis**: 'campaigns' hardly gives the antithesis to triumphs, perhaps 'years of service' will do.

6 **exercuerit**: 'has not employed his talents'; cf. Tusc. 5, 3 *eos casus in quibus me fortuna vehementer exercuit.*

7 **fortuna**: 'the misfortunes of the state.'

**civile**: against Cinna under his father, against the younger Marius under Sulla.

**Africanum**: Sulla employed him to crush the Marians in Sicily and Africa; see Introd. 13.

**Transalpinum**: the fighting on his way through Gaul to Spain; see Introd. 14.

8 **Hispaniense**: the war with Sertorius; **servile**, he helped to end the Slave war: **navale**, the war with the pirates.

**mixtum...nationibus**: a meaningless gloss. Eberhard quotes from Florus a clue to the sense intended, *bellum Sertorianum hostile potius an civile dixerim, nescio, quippe quod Lusitani Celtiberique Romano gesserint duce.*

9 **diversa**: of locality; cf. 9, l. 3.

10 **gesta**: strictly of *bella*, used loosely with *genera bellorum et hostium.*

11 **confecta**: 'terminated.'

**in usu militari**: 'within the sphere of military experience.' Cf. 2, l. 20 *ex forensi usu.*

29 13 **iam vero**: 'moreover'; the speaker is passing on to a fresh illustration of his point.

**virtuti**: see note on 27, l. 23 and 28, l. 26, the second of the four essentials.

14 **par**: 'equal to,' 'adequate to describe.'

16 **solae**: the other *virtutes* are given in 36, l. 3.

17 **labor**: rare of a quality, 'activity' here. Cf. Verr. 2, 7 (where it is opposed to *desidia*) *nulla desidia...contra summus labor in publicis privatisque rebus.*

18 **industria**: 'energy.'

19 **tanta...quanta non fuerunt**: 'qualities which are found in greater measure in P. alone...than in....'

20 **audivimus**: *audire aliquem*, is to 'listen to' a person, to 'hear of' is *audire de*, but *audivimus* here is assimilated in construction

to *vidimus*. Cf. Verr. 5, 27, 68 *lautumias Syracusanas omnes audistis, plerique vidistis.*

30 21 **virtute et subsidio**: 'valour and support.' See 33, l. 27.

23 **non terrore belli**: 'not by the terror of his arms but by the rapidity of his plans.'

24 **explicavit**: 'extricated,' 'released from the toils'; for the met. cf. Verr. 5, 151 *si ex his te laqueis exueris ac te aliqua via ac ratione explicaris.*

For the wars see Introd. 13 and 14, and notes on 28, ll. 7, 8.

30 **taetro**: 'hideous, horrible,' alluding to the terrible reprisals on both sides in the Servile war. The slaves killed their prisoners or compelled them to slaughter one another for their amusement; they in turn were crucified by thousands.

**periculoso**: how deep was the sense of Rome's danger is well brought out in Horace's lines, Epod. 16, 5, where *Spartacus acer* figures in the roll of Rome's most formidable enemies.

31 **exspectatione...adventu**: cf. pro Arch. 4 *famam ingenii exspectatio hominis, exspectationem ipsius adventus superavit.*

32 **attenuatum** etc.: 'shrank and dwindled.'

**sublatum ac sepultum**: a curiously vivid metaphor, lit. 'was killed and buried,' 'died away to extinction on his arrival.' Notice that Cicero does not even allude to Crassus who had practically ended the war before Pompey returned.

PAGE 12.

31 2 **universa**: 'in their whole extent.'

3 **toto mari**: see note on 12, l. 5 *cuncta Asia.*

5 **qui non** = *quin*, 'without exposing himself to....' Cf. note on *ut non* 19, l. 16.

6 **hieme**: in the winter when the seas were usually closed.

**referto** takes the gen. or abl. as in 55, l. 18 *referta divitiis*; 'or when the sea was swarming with pirates.'

7 **cum...navigaret**: 'sailing as he did'; Eberhard renders 'as he had to sail,' and compares *redempti sint* in 32, l. 22.

**hoc tantum**: this use of *tantum* and *tam* which follows, marking off each predication, is due to the Latin love of precision; see note on 4, l. 16.

8 **divisum**: cf. 9, l. 3.

**arbitraretur**: 'who could have thought,' the so-called potential subjunctive. There is really a suppressed condition.

9 **omnibus**: 'any number of.' Cicero lets his desire for antithesis here lead him into a rhetorical exaggeration.

32 12 **praesidio**: cf. 17, l. 31, 'Whom have you protected with your fleets?' For the neglect of the Roman fleets see Introd. 16 and 17.

16 **fuit**: not *erat*. Cicero means what Virgil expresses in *fuit Ilium et ingens gloria Teucrorum*, Aen. 2, 325.

**proprium**: 'the peculiar pride or boast of Rome.' Cf. Caes. B. G. 6, 23, 2 *hoc proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere.*

17 **propugnaculis**: 'the outworks,' 'first line of defence.' Here the fleets, frontier forces. So in Verr. 2, 3, 80 *propugnaculum provinciae* is applied to the fleet.

19 **dicam**: 'am I to say,' pres. subj., see *commemorem* in l. 26.

20 **a Brundisio**: the Harleian omits *a*, and in 35, l. 21 Cicero has the usual construction. The names of towns *from which*, are usually put in the abl. without a preposition, but *transmitto*, though it implies setting out or departure, does not suggest it with precision. On this ground the preposition may be justified.

21 **transmiserint**: 'crossed over,' used as a neut. verb here. Cf. *traicere.*

**qui**: the relative clause first, see 19, l. 11; in translating take the words in the order (*eos*) *captos esse querar qui*....

**venirent**: not *venerint*, the more usual sequence, but the equivalent of *veniebant* in Or. Recta; 'those who from time to time came' is the literal force.

22 **redempti sint**: 'have been ransomed'; corresponds in construction and force of tense with *transmiserint*: the translation 'had to be ransomed' is inaccurate, see note on 31, l. 7.

23 **non**: be careful in translating to keep the *non* with *fuisse*, to which word it belongs by position and emphasis.

**duodecim secures**: i.e. the retinue of two praetors, each being attended by six lictors. The axes are put for the men by a common metonymy. Cf. our use of lance, gun, bat, etc.

33 24 **Cnidus**: a Greek colony on the coast of Caria, possessing two harbours and a considerable commerce.

25 **Colophon**: one of the twelve Ionian cities: it stood about two miles from the coast between Lebedus and Ephesus. It claimed to be the birthplace of Homer, and was also famous for the oracle of Apollo Clarius in its neighbourhood.

**Samos**: one of the largest islands in the Aegaean, lying off the

coast of Asia Minor, a little to the north of Ephesus. It had been exposed to the ravages of the pirates for years, and its famous temple of Hera had been robbed by them almost under the eyes of Sulla when in Asia. See Introd. 16.

**nobilissimas**: 'famous,' cf. Liv. 22, 7, 1 *haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna.*

27 **eos portus**: Rome depended for her corn supply on imported grain. Sicily, Africa, Sardinia are described in 34, l. 15 as *tria frumentaria subsidia*; to close the ports of Ostia and Caieta meant speedy famine.

**quibus vitam ac spiritum**: 'through which you draw your very life's breath,' *vitam ac spiritum*, the phrase is best taken as a hendiadys, a figure of speech by no means confined to poetry, cf. Rosc. Am. 4, 9 *natura pudorque*, 'natural modesty'; Or. 1, 33 *clamores et admirationes*, 'exclamations of surprise'; pro Marcello 4, 12 *victoriae conditio visque*, 'the essential nature of victory'; 22 *latebrae et recessus*, 'dark recesses'; perhaps in this speech *virtute et subsidio*, 'able assistance,' *labem atque ignominiam*, 'shameful blot.'

28 **an vero**: 'can it be that you do not know?' *vero* makes the emphatic question with *an* more emphatic; notice also throughout this passage the persistent repetition of *praedonum, praedonibus.*

29 **Caietae**: a port in Latium on the borders of Campania, said to have derived its name from the nurse of Aeneas, Aen. 7, 1:

*Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix,*
*Aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti.*

**celeberrimum**: 'crowded,' 'busy.'

**inspectante**: 'under the very eyes of...'; the word is used by Cicero only in this abl. absol. constr., cf. 33, l. 1.

30 **Miseno**: Misenum was a promontory in Campania. Augustus afterwards made the bay into a harbour.

31 **eius ipsius**: probably M. Antonius, the orator who as proconsul defeated the pirates in B.C. 103, and whose daughter, according to Plutarch (Pompey 24), was captured by them and ransomed for a large sum.

**liberos**: is probably rhetorical, if Plutarch is right, and the daughter alone is referred to.

33 **incommodum**: see note on 26, l. 5.

**labem**: 'stain,' 'disgrace,' cf. 7, l. 10 *macula*, a common metaphor in Cicero: the two often occur together, as in Balb. 6, 15 *est enim haec saeculi labes quaedam et macula, virtuti invidere.*

PAGE 13.

1 **cum**: refers loosely to the time of the disaster suggested in *illam*.

2 **praepositus esset**: the subjunctive is due to *ea*, which implies a fleet of such importance that a consul was in command.

3 **oppressa**: 'destroyed,' cf. 21, l. 9 *depressam*, 'sunk.'

4 **virtus**: see note on 27, l. 23.

5 **lucem adferre**: daylight in the sense of 'help,' 'succour.' Cf. 7, l. 20, and 41, l. 22 *imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucem adferre coepit*, which recalls the fine figure in Burke's speech on America, 'when the day-star of the English Constitution had arisen in their hearts, all was harmony within and without.'

7 **Oceani ostium**: 'the gate of Ocean,' the pillars of Hercules, our Straits of Gibraltar.) There is an obvious play on the word *ostium*, and the antithesis of *classem* and *navem* should be marked.

34 9 **a me**: used instead of the more regular *mihi* to lay stress on the agent. Cf. p. Sest. 41 *a consulibus meam causam suscipiendam esse dicebat.*

**praetereunda non sunt**: attracted into agreement with *haec*. *praetereundum non est* would be more usual.

10 **obeundi**: the gen. is governed by *studio*; for *obire* cf. 53, l. 29.

12 **cursus**: 'voyages.'

**quam celeriter**: with *tam brevi tempore*; a rhetorical amplification of *tam celeriter quam....*

13 **tanti belli impetus navigavit**: a highly poetical expression, 'that mighty armament swept over the seas,' where 'swept' gives something of the force of *impetus*; there is a similar phrase in pro Murena 15, 33 *cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum moenia constitisset.* Eberhard quotes a fragment of Ennius, *labitur uncta carina, volat super impetus undas.*

**nondum tempestivo**: that is, in early spring, before the sailing season sets in, when, as Horace says, *trahuntque siccas machinae carinas*, Odes 1, 4, 2. For the ablative cf. 31, l. 6 *referto praedonum mari.*

15 **frumentaria subsidia**: 'granaries.' See note on 33, l. 27.

35 17 **in Italiam**: Pompey was obliged to return to Rome in order to remove by his personal intervention the obstacles which the consul C. Calpurnius Piso was putting in the way of his preparations for levying and arming troops.

**duabus Hispaniis**: Hither and Further, *citerior et ulterior*. The division was made at the end of the Second Punic War.

18 **Gallia Transalpina**: the coast of the *provincia Narbonensis*, or Southern Gaul. *Provincia* still survives in the name Provence.

**confirmata**: 'secured,' belongs to *Hispaniis* as well as to *Gallia* the nearer subject, with which it is constructed, possibly to avoid confusion with *praesidiis ac navibus*.

For the fact see Mommsen IV. p. 113, 'his (Pompey's) lieutenants meanwhile addressed themselves to the clearing of the Spanish and Gallic coasts.'

19 **Achaiam**: the Roman province, which included the Peloponnese and the central part of Greece proper, or in other words the modern kingdom of Greece without Thessaly: the name however was at this time often loosely used for the Peloponnese alone, and hence Cicero adds *omnem Graeciam* to define a wider area, cf. in Pis. 16, 37 *lege ea omnis erat tibi Achaia, Thessalia, Athenae, cuncta Graecia addicta*.

20 **duo maria**: the Adriatic (*mare superum*) and the Tuscan or Tyrrhenian Sea (*mare inferum*).

21 **adornavit**: 'equipped,' 'provided.' Cf. 20, l. 2, and 21, l. 14.

**ut...profectus est**: 'within 49 days of setting out.' *ut* often means when, but it does not often stand for *ex quo tempore* as here. Roby (1719) gives an instance from Plautus, Stich. 29 *nam viri nostri domo ut abierunt, hic tertiust annus*. Cf. the use of ἐπεὶ and ἐπειδή, Aesch. Ag. 40 δέκατον μὲν ἔτος τόδ' ἐπεὶ Πριάμου....ἦραν.

23 **Cilicia**: the great stronghold of the pirates, Cilicia Aspera or Trachea, the rugged Cilicia, to be distinguished from the first Roman province of Cilicia (established in B.C. 103) which lay to the East.

25 **imperio**: 'military power,' *potestas* of civil authority; but the distinction should not be pressed in translation, 'authority and power.'

**Cretensibus**: governed by both verbs *ademit* and *imperavit*; for their appeal to Pompey see 46, l. 13. The proconsul Q. Metellus was at this time engaged in reducing Crete, which had been a nest of piracy. Pompey's authority, which by the Gabinian law extended for fifty miles inland from the coast, gave him, of course, control over that long and narrow island. The rumours of his mild treatment of the pirates in Cilicia induced the Cretans to send envoys to him, and he allowed himself to be embroiled in an undignified quarrel with Metellus, who refused to be superseded.

26 **legatos deprecatoresque**: = *legatos qui deprecarentur*, 'envoys to intercede for them.'

30 **apparavit**: 'made his preparations for.'

36 32 **divina**: see note on 10, l. 8.

**virtus**: see note on 27, l. 23.

33 **quid?** A favourite and vigorous form of transition, cf. 12, l. 33.

**ceterae**: the moral and intellectual qualities, as distinct from *virtutes imperatoriae, quae vulgo existimantur*, 29, l. 16, a passage to which Cicero refers in *paulo ante*.

## PAGE 14.

2 **quaerenda**: 'must be looked for,' = *requirenda*.

3 **artes**: 'qualities.' Cf. Hor. Odes 3, 3, 9 *hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules enisus arces attigit igneas*.

**administrae**: 'the handmaidens of.' For the metaphor cf. de Orat. 1, 55 *istam iuris scientiam eloquentiae tamquam ancillulam pedisequamque adiunxisti*.

4 **innocentia**: 'integrity,' a governor must be above taking bribes.

6 **facilitate**: 'accessibility,' best explained by 41, l. 26; *facilis* often means compliant, affable, the opposite of *difficilis* peevish, hard to please, cf. de Sen. 3, 7 *nec difficiles nec inhumani senes*.

**ingenio...humanitate**: 'what a mind, and what a heart.' *ingenium* is not explicitly mentioned in the separate enumeration of these virtues in 42, but we infer from 42, l. 29 that Cicero is thinking of the power of judgment, and of weighty and eloquent speech. *Humanitas* in 42, l. 2 implies *mansuetudo*, the quality by which Pompey wins the affection even of conquered enemies. Note also a kindred meaning of *humanitas* in Cicero, viz. culture, i.e. learning resulting in gentleness and refinement.

7 **quae...qualia sint**: 'and in what degree these qualities exist.' For the double relative cf. 44, l. 26 *qui quo die*.

8 **summa**: 'in the highest degree.' Cf. 13, l. 10 *in quo summa sint omnia*.

9 **ex aliorum contentione**: 'from a comparison with others.' Cf. de Off. 1, 58 *si contentio quaedam et comparatio fiat*.

37 10 **ullo in numero**: 'of any account.' Cf. Brutus 31, 117 *Q. Aelius Tubero fuit illo tempore nullo in oratorum numero*; and *homo nullo numero*, 'a man of no account'; so the Greeks have the phrase οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ, and the French *une quantité negligeable*.

11 **cuius**: a very common type of clause, the relative, as indicating

a characteristic of the antecedent, being followed by the subjunctive; this use is closely allied to the relative in clauses expressing result. In the present passage the idea of result is not present, but 'the sort of man who' is implied. So *qui diviserit* in l. 15, *cuius legiones...pervenerint* in 39, l. 30. For an instance of *qui* consecutive see 54, l. 3 *quae tam parva insula fuit quae non...defenderet?* and of *qui* final 65, l. 13 *urbes requiruntur...quibus causa belli inferatur*; in the last instance the relative also indicates a characteristic of the antecedent.

**centuriatus**: the centurions, sixty in each legion, were appointed by the consul through the military tribunes, on grounds of merit, *virtutis causa.*

**veneant atque venierint**: the Latin inverts our English order, partly here for euphony, but cf. Verr. 4, 132 *iniurias nullas Graeci gravius ferunt ac tulerunt.*

12 **quid**: sc. *possumus putare*: though the sense of *putare* is changed.

**magnum aut amplum...cogitare**: 'to have large and generous views for the good of the state.' Cf. Catil. 2, 3, 5 *qui omnia de re publica praeclara atque egregia sentirent.*

**amplum**: a favourite word with Cicero, used both of things and people, e.g. in 1, l. 2 *locus ad agendum amplissimus*; 2, l. 13 *fructum amplissimum*; 51, l. 1 *beneficiis amplissimis adfectus*; 63, l. 16 *amplissimorum hominum*, in all these passages (except 2, l. 13 where ample or full suits better) the sense is 'honourable,' 'distinguished.'

14 **propter cupiditatem provinciae**: sc. *retinendae*, he would bribe influential men to ensure the prolongation of his command.

15 **magistratibus**: *dividere* takes the dative or *inter* or *in* with accusative.

16 **in quaestu reliquerit**: 'left invested.' Cf. in Pis. 35, 86 *nonne HS centiens et octogiens, ex aerario tibi attributum, Romae in quaestu reliquisti.* It is impossible to say to whom Cicero is referring throughout this passage.

**admurmuratio**: of approval or disapproval, here of approval.

**facit ut...videamini**: 'lets it appear that you recognize.'

18 **nisi qui...confiteri**: 'unless it be one who chooses first to admit his own guilt,' *ante* first, meaning that no innocent man can resent it: if a man resents it, he thereby admits his guilt.

21 **ferant**: = *adferant* which is the reading of H.

38 **itinera quae**: for *quae itinera* to gain emphasis. Livy (42, 1, 7) describes the beginning of the evil a century before. L. Postumius

had been treated as he thought with lack of deference by the Praenestines, when he had visited the town in a semi-official capacity. On his election as consul *litteras Praeneste misit, ut sibi magistratus obviam exiret, locum publice pararet, ubi deverteretur, iumentaque, cum exiret inde, praesto essent.* Up till that time the state had made special provision to obviate such demands (*ne quid tale imperarent sociis*), but the example of Postumius and the compliance of the Praenestines led to increased arrogance and the most oppressive requisitions. For graphic descriptions of these *itinera* see Phil. 2, 23, 57 of Antony, and Verr. 5, 10, 27 of Verres.

22 **civium Romanorum**: the Italians had become Roman citizens at the close of the Social War, by the Lex Plautia Papiria 89 B.C.

24 **fieri existimetis**: we might expect *fiat* alone, but see note on *putetis* 11, l. 17.

26 **hibernis**: sc. *militum vestrorum*, the antithesis to *armis*: an immunity from maintaining an army in winter-quarters was the privilege of the favoured provincial towns known as *civitates liberae*, and from a letter of Cicero ad Att. 5, 21, 7 we gather that wealthy states paid large sums to be relieved of the burden (*ne in hiberna milites reciperent, magnas pecunias dabant*).

29 **in se severos**: 'strict,' for the constr. cf. pro Clu. 20, 56 *iudices severi in eos solos*. The greed and extortion of Roman governors in the provinces led to the establishment of the first *quaestio perpetua* or standing court for the trial of such offences (*de pecuniis repetundis*). As however the *iudices* were drawn from the governing class, and bribery was rampant, it was difficult to convict offenders. Caius Gracchus transferred the *iudicia* to the *equites*, Sulla restored them to the senate, Pompey and Crassus by a compromise divided the privilege between the two orders and the *tribuni aerarii*; but bribery was still prevalent and successful (see 37, l. 15).

39 30 **excellere**: see note on 14, l. 2.

31 **non modo**: for *non modo non*; there is no real ambiguity in this idiom, as the negative is contained in the *ne...quidem* that follows, 'not to speak of....., there is not even..... Cf. the parallel construction of *οὐχ ὅπως.....οὐδέ*.

**manus**: 'act of violence,' they abstained from plundering.

32 **vestigium**: 'the track of their passage,' they had not ravaged the country.

**pacato**: used as an adj. Cf. 67, l. 27 *civitatem pacatam*, 'peaceable,' or here 'non-combatant.'

33 **quem ad modum**: dependent on *litterae perferuntur*. See note on 27, l. 14.

PAGE 15.

1 **sermones**: by word of mouth.

3 **hiemis enim non avaritiae perfugium**: note the double use of the genitive, subjective and objective in the same clause, 'a shelter *from* winter, not *for* avarice.'

5 **voluerunt**: 'it was the will or intention of.' Cf. 11, l. 23.

40 **age vero**: a common form of transition, 'well then,' 'come now,' used here with a plural verb following.

7 **cursum**: 'rapidity.' Cf. pro Rosc. Am. 34, 97 *quid hic incredibilis cursus: quid haec tanta celeritas festinatioque significat?* and 34, l. 12 of this speech, *tantos cursus conficere* of Pompey's rapid voyages.

**inventum**: 'attained.' Cf. pro Sulla 30, 83 *memoria per me inventae salutis.*

8 **eximia vis remigum**: Cicero refers to picked crews of rowers, such as pulled in the Athenian state-triremes, Salaminia and Paralus.

11 **ab instituto cursu**: *cursus* has its usual meaning here 'from the course he had set before him.'

12 **amoenitas**: as always in Classical Latin of the charm of beautiful scenery; *ad delectationem*, to the enjoyment of it.

13 **nobilitas**: 'fame.' Cf. note on *nobilissimas* 33, l. 25.

**ad cognitionem**: 'to the study of it,' i.e. its antiquity, famous buildings, etc. Cf. Tac. Ann. 2, 59 *Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis.*

When Napoleon was in the East, it was suggested that he should visit Jerusalem. 'No' he said, 'it does not come within the sphere of my operations.' Pompey acted on this principle.

15 **ornamenta**: 'art-treasures.'

**ceteri**: notably Verres, whose pillage of statues and works of art throughout Sicily forms the theme of the fourth speech in the Actio secunda, cf. Actio prima 5, 14 *deum denique nullum Siculis, qui ei paullo magis affabre atque antiquo artificio factus videretur, reliquit.*

41 18 **de caelo delapsum**: 'as an angel from heaven,' cf. Livy 22, 29, 3 *Fabiana se acies repente velut caelo demissa ad auxilium ostendit*, and Cicero ad Q. fratrem 1, 1, 7 *Graeci quidem sic te...intuebuntur, ut ...de caelo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum putent.*

19 **fuisse**: 'that there really once were.'

20 **quod**: 'a fact which,' referring to the previous clause as antecedent.

21 **memoriae**: see note on *memoria* 54, l. 1.

22 **videbatur**: 'was beginning to seem.'

**splendor**: 'the radiance.'

**lucem adferre**: see note on 33, l. 5.

24 **tum, cum...habebamus**: for *tum...cum* cf. 15, l. 6, and for the indic. in subordinate clause, which is explanatory, or as here contains a statement of fact, see note on 5, l. 24 and cf. Cat. 3, 9, 21 *quis neget haec omnia quae videmus deorum potestate administrari?*

26 **faciles aditus**: Plutarch speaks of 'the easiness of access to him upon all occasions; for no man was ever less importunate in asking favours, or more gracious in conferring them.'

**liberae**: = *non impeditae*, 'so little discouraged.'

28 **facilitate**: 'in easiness of access,' *par*, 'on a level with.'

42 29 **consilio**: see note on 36, l. 6; for Pompey's powers as an orator cf. Brut. 68, 239 *erat oratione satis amplus, rem prudenter videbat, actio vero eius habebat et in voce magnum splendorem et in motu summam dignitatem.*

31 **hoc...loco**: the Rostra, see note on 55, l. 22.

**fidem**: 'word of honour.'

33 **sanctissimam**: 'absolutely inviolable.'

**humanitate**: see note on 36, l. 6. Mommsen (vol. IV. p. 114) says of the war with the pirates, 'The well-calculated moderation of Pompeius helped more than fear to open the gates of these scarcely accessible marine strongholds. His predecessors had ordered every captured freebooter to be nailed to the cross; without hesitation he gave quarter to all, and treated in particular the common rowers found in the captured piratical vessels with unusual indulgence.'

PAGE 16.

3 **quisquam**: is used because the rhetorical question implies a negative answer.

4 **transmittendum**: cf. 1, l. 10, *committere* is the more usual word.

**nostrae memoriae**: the genitive of quality or description: *memoriae* is used for *eius temporis cuius nos meminimus*, abstract for concrete, cf. especially 27, l. 23 *antiquitatis memoriam.*

43 7 **auctoritas**: one of the four qualifications of a general, mentioned in 28, l. 26, 'prestige' perhaps represents its meaning accurately here: from the context we learn that it is of great importance

what the enemy and what the allies think of a general, and in l. 17 it is expressly stated that the appointment to high commands is the thing *quod maxime facit auctoritatem*.

9 **ea re**: sc. *auctoritate*.

10 **vehementer**: 'moreover it is *most* important for...'

12 **in tantis rebus**: 'in such a position.'

13 **contemnant aut metuant**: apply to *hostes*; *oderint aut ament* to *socii*.

14 **opinione**: 'belief,' 'fancy,' opposed to *ratione certa*, 'well-founded reason'; *commoveri*, 'are influenced.'

18 **praeclara iudicia fecistis**: for the meaning of *iudicia facere* see note on *iudicio* 2, l. 13.

44 19 **quo non** : = *ut eo non*.

**illius diei**: the day on which the Gabinian proposal was passed. See Introd. 15 and 17.

20 **completis...templis**: the steps of the temples surrounding the Forum; on the south those of Vesta, Castor and Pollux; at the foot of the Capitol those of Saturn and Concord. Three pillars of the temple of Castor and Pollux are still standing, and show that the building was raised several feet above the level of the Forum.

21 **hic locus**: see 55, l. 22.

22 **unum**: note the emphatic position of *unum* separated from *Cn. Pompeium*, and so brought into effective contrast with *commune omnium*.

**commune**: 'affecting the interests of all.'

23 **ut plura non dicam**: cf. such phrases as *ut taceam*, *ut cetera omittam*, 'to say no more': the *non* belongs to *dicam*, and the idiom must not be confused with *ne dicam*, which implies that the speaker has more to say, but shrinks from saying it.

24 **confirmem**: 'prove' has for its object the clause *quantum auctoritas valeat*, in which *huius* is clearly out of place. H omits it.

26 **omnium rerum egregiarum**: 'of all excellence.'

**qui quo die**: 'for on the day on which he...'

28 **ex summa inopia**: 'following upon extreme dearth.' The *ex* has a temporal force; in l. 31 *ex* is causal, and means 'as the result of,' 'in consequence of.'

29 **unius hominis spe ac nomine**: for the double use of the genitive, cf. 39, l. 3; here *hominis* is objective with *spe*, and possessive with *nomine*.

45 31 **ex**: see note on 44, l. 28.

32 **paulo ante**: see 25, l. 2 and Introd. 12.

**invitus admonui**: adjective for adverb, cf. 48, l. 13 *tacitus optare*, and note on 13, l. 15. *Laetus*, *primus*, *ultimus*, *frequens*, *assiduus* are most commonly used in this way. In Livy first appears the tendency to a poetical freedom, which is characteristic of the Latin of the Silver Age, e.g. 2, 35, 3 *multus atque ferox instare*.

33 **animi**: 'courage,' the usual meaning of the plural, but for another sense see 66, l. 20.

PAGE 17.

1 **non haberet**: 'was inadequately defended,' notice the change of tense from *crevissent* to *haberet*.

2 **ad ipsum discrimen**: 'to meet the emergency of that crisis.' Cf. ad Fam. 2, 7, 2 *iudicio tuo, non casu, in ipsum discrimen rerum contulisti tribunatum tuum*.

**divinitus**: 'providentially.'

3 **ad eas regiones**: to the neighbourhood of those regions.

4 **inflammatum**: 'flushed with victory.' H reads *inflatum*, 'puffed up with.'

5 **continuit**: 'checked,' *retardavit*, 'made to pause,' 'gave pause to,' cf. 13, l. 14 *impetus hostium...retardatos*.

6 **quisquam**: cf. 42, l. 3.

8 **imperio atque exercitu**: 'with military command and an army,' that is 'as a general at the head of an army.'

9 **ipso nomine ac rumore**: 'by the mere rumour of his name,' see note on 33, l. 27: and for the hyperbole cf. Plutarch, 'As the price of provisions fell immediately, the people were greatly pleased, and it gave them occasion to say,—"The very name of Pompey has terminated the war."'

46 10 **age vero**: cf. 40, l. 5.

**illa res**: 'this circumstance.'

11 **auctoritatem**: Cicero attributes to Pompey's influence what was really due to his humanity. See note on 42, l. 33.

12 **diversis**: see note on 9, l. 3.

13 **huic se uni**: notice the order of the words, and Cicero's habit, especially in pronominal phrases, of separating words that are grammatically connected, *haec vobis provincia* 14 l. 2, *huius se imperio* 35, l. 25, *ad alios se reges* 21, l. 16, *mea me voluntas* 1, l. 5, etc.

**Cretensium legati**: H alone reads *communi Cretensium*, and from this Gulielmus and Kayser conjecture *a communi Cretensium*,

'from the diet of the people of Crete'; *commune*=τὸ κοινόν occurs frequently in the Verrines.

14 **noster imperator**: 'one of our generals.' Cf. 26, l. 13.

16 **Cretensium civitates**: see note on 35, l. 25.

18 **legatum**: this is obscure. We know that Mithridates sent envoys to Sertorius (9, ll. 1 and 2), but no mention is made elsewhere of this mission to Pompey. A slight is intended to Metellus Pius (see Introd. 14), who was senior to Pompey, and who saved him from defeat in the Spanish campaign. Possibly, as Drumann suggests, Pompey caught a spy of the king in his camp, and was led by his vanity to believe that Mithridates was making overtures to him.

**eum**: this word and *Pompeius legatum semper iudicavit* are bracketed by Eberhard as a gloss: they seem to contradict *legatum* in the preceding sentence, unless they are intended to correct it, 'an envoy, at least Pompey always thought so.'

19 **quibus erat molestum**: 'those who were annoyed at his being sent to P. rather than to them,' as the infinitive clause (*eum*) *missum esse* is the subject of *erat molestum*, so the clause *speculatorem...iudicari* is the object of *maluerunt*. Cf. Horace, Sat. 1, 8, 3 (*me*) *maluit esse deum*, 'preferred that I should be a god.'

23 **iudiciis**: see note on 2, l. 13.

25 **existimetis**: see note on 11, l. 17.

47 26 **felicitate**: see note on 28, l. 27.

**praestare**: 'answer for,' 'guarantee in his own case.' Cf. 55, l. 15 *salvos praestare*, 'to answer for the safety of.'

28 **sicut aequum est**: supply *dicere* from *dicamus*.

**de potestate deorum**: 'of that which lies in the hands of the gods.' Cicero implies that while it would be impious to call oneself *felix*, a man may with due reverence speak of the *felicitas* of another.

29 **timide et pauca**: 'with reverence and brevity.' For the combination of adverb and adj. cf. Orator 21, 70 *de quo praeclare et multa praecipiuntur*.

**Maximo**: Q. Fabius, five times consul (B.C. 233—209): by his defensive tactics against Hannibal he saved Rome from defeat at a critical time, and earned the nickname of Cunctator. Cf. Virgil, Aen. 6, 846 *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*.

30 **Marcello**: M. Claudius Marcellus, also five times consul (B.C. 222—208) and the conqueror of Syracuse. He was the most brilliant of the generals opposed to Hannibal, with the exception of Scipio Africanus.

**Scipioni**: probably the Scipio mentioned in 60, l. 12, where he is again coupled with Marius; this was Scipio Aemilianus the younger son of L. Aemilius Paulus. He was adopted by P. Scipio the son of the conqueror of Hannibal. He destroyed Carthage in B.C. 146, and took Numantia in B.C. 133.

**Mario**: Caius Marius, seven times consul, was born at Arpinum, the birthplace of Cicero, in B.C. 157. He ended the war with Jugurtha in B.C. 106, conquered the Cimbri and Teutones in B.C. 102—101. For the civil war between his party and that of Sulla see Introd. 5—6.

**et ceteris**: the *et* seems to violate the well-known rule, but the four names in asyndeton (*Maximo...Mario*) may be regarded as forming one clause.

33 **ad**: *adiuncta ad* seems to imply here more than mere addition to, which is the sense in 50, l. 27; the preposition has the force of 'with the view to,' or 'to the attainment of.'

## PAGE 18.

1 **amplitudinem**: see note on *amplus* 37, l. 12.

2 **divinitus**: see 45, l. 2.

4 **non ut**: the usual order, when *sed ut* follows, compare and contrast *ut non* in 19, l. 16.

5 **praeterita**: 'the past,' so *reliqua* for 'the future'; for the use of neut. pl. adj. = substantive cf. 62, l. 11 *nova* 'new precedents' and such phrases as *vera dicere*, *laeta nuntiare*.

**videamur**: 'it may be seen that we...'; the plural includes Pompey's supporters.

6 **invisa dis**: 'displeasing to the gods,' with reference to *in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam*: *ingrata* 'ungrateful' referring to *meminisse*, the mindfulness of past services.

48 7 **non sum praedicaturus**: a favourite device of oratory, called by the writers on rhetoric *praeteritio*: the speaker affects to omit what he really inserts and emphasizes. Cf. 60, l. 5 *non dicam*.

8 **ut**: 'how.'

9 **adsenserint**: the active form is only used by Cicero in the perfect tenses: the passive form is the more usual, cf. de Orat. 1, 9, 35 *adsentior Crasso*, and Phil. 11, 8, 19 *adsensus ero*.

The sequence of tenses throughout this sentence should be

noticed, and it should be remembered that the perf. subj. like the perf. ind. is both an aorist and a primary tense, thus *rogo quid fecerit* may mean 'I ask what he did,' or 'I ask what he has done.'

10 **venti**: in 40, l. 9 where Cicero is praising Pompey's personal merit, not his good fortune, the help of the winds is disclaimed.

12 **qui**: see note on 37, l. 11: the *qui* here is consecutive, 'so presumptuous as to.....'

13 **optare**: see note on 25, l. 29; *tacitus* has a special force, men often cherish in silence wishes they would not venture to express aloud. Cf. Hor. Ep. 1, 16, 59

*Iane pater! clare, clare cum dixit, Apollo!*
*Labra movet metuens audiri: 'Pulchra Laverna,*
*Da mihi fallere, da iusto sanctoque videri.'*

For *tacitus* cf. 13, l. 15.

15 **proprium ac perpetuum**: 'his own for ever'; in 32, l. 16 *proprius* takes the genitive.

**cum...tum**: see note on 6, l. 2.

16 **sicuti facitis**: 'as you *are* doing,' referring to *velle et optare*. Cicero knows that the sympathies of the people are with him.

49 19 **accuratissime**: 'with the utmost care,' not 'accuracy.'

22 **dubitatis...quin**: the infinitive is more usual. As a rule *dubitare* in the sense of 'to hesitate' takes an infinitive construction in negative clauses. The interrogative here expects the answer 'no,' and therefore implies a negative.

**hoc tantum boni**: 'this great advantage,' meaning the possession of a general *qui ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videtur.*

23 **in**: *ad* is more usual with *conferre*.

50 26 **erat deligendus**: 'would have had to be chosen.' Verbs and expressions denoting necessity, duty, possibility when used in the apodosis of a conditional clause that is contrary to fact, are put in the past indicative instead of the subjunctive.

27 **nunc**: 'as it is.'

28 **opportunitas**: 'fortunate circumstance.'

**ut**: follows *adiungatur* on the analogy of *accedit*.

31 **cetera**: not *bella* but *quae commissa sunt*.

**summa cum salute**: 'to the great advantage of the state.'

32 **committamus**: 'why should we not entrust': the indic. would be more natural after *exspectamus*, and it is noteworthy that H gives the reading *commendamus*.

51 33 **at enim**: 'but it will be said,' the regular formula for introducing the objections or arguments of the adversary.

PAGE 19.

1 **beneficiis**: the higher offices of state, cf. Cicero's use of *iudicia* 43, l. 18, the verdict of the people given in the bestowal of such *beneficia*.

**Q. Catulus**: the son of the conqueror of the Cimbri, was consul in B.C. 78. He was at this time *princeps senatus* and the leader of the party of the Optimates.

2 **honoris**: 'of office,' as an ex-consul (*consularis*).

**fortunae**: 'of wealth.' Q. Hortensius, Cicero's great rival as a speaker (see Introd. 21), was a man of immense wealth.

3 **ab hac ratione**: *ratio* here means 'view,' one of its less common meanings; see note on 1, l. 5.

4 **auctoritatem**: 'weighty judgment'; so in l. 6 the plural has the same force.

**multis locis**: 'on many occasions.' For the temporal sense of *locus* cf. *ad id locorum* till then, hitherto, and the phrase *nec vero hic locus est ut*...where the ideas of place and time are both present.

7 **omissis**: lit. 'being left out of the question,' 'setting aside.'

**re ac ratione**: 'by a consideration of the facts,' 'by the logic of facts,' see note on *ratio* 1, l. 5, and on hendiadys 33, l. 27.

9 **isti**: 'your followers,' 'those supporters of yours.'

52 11 **summa esse omnia**: see 13, l. 10

14 **obsolevit**: 'is out of date,' *oratio* 'line of argument.' Cf. 3, l. 7.

**re**: the successful result of the Gabinian Law. Notice that Cicero does not answer the argument at all.

15 **pro tua copia**: 'with all your flow of eloquence,' for *pro* see note on 4, l. 18.

17 **fortem**: Gabinius is so styled because of the vigorous way in which he carried his measure through in spite of the opposition of the Senate, and the veto of one of his colleagues.

**graviter ornateque**: 'with weight and brilliance.'

19 **loco**: see 55, l. 22.

53 22 **vera causa**: 'the true interest,' the 'good' cause which, as Halm says, is claimed in politics for their own by either party; so Cicero often in his speeches uses *boni* of the conservative party.

23 **hanc gloriam...imperium**: 'this glorious and world-wide empire.'

26 **commeatu**: 'intercourse' in a wider sense. More often of trade, and especially 'supplies.'

27 **prohibebamur**: see note on 18, l. 6.

29 **obire**: 'to transact.' Cf. 34, l. 10 *obeundi negotii.*

54 31 **satis late**: 'over a tolerably wide area.' The sea-empire of Athens at the height of her power covered the Aegaean and Propontis, and included most of the coast towns and islands.

**mare tenuisse**: cf. *κατέχειν τὴν θάλασσαν* (=*θαλασσοκρατεῖν*) 'to hold sway over the seas.'

32 **Carthaginiensium**: before the first Punic war Carthage had for years regarded the western half of the Mediterranean as her special domain, and Eratosthenes 'affirms that every foreign mariner sailing towards Sardinia or the Straits of Gades, who fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, was thrown by them into the sea.' Mommsen, vol. II. p. 15.

33 **Rhodiorum**: Rhodes, which played but a small part in Greek history down to the fall of Grecian freedom, became a considerable maritime power after the death of Alexander. The Rhodians helped Rome and Attalus against Philip of Macedon, but were punished for espousing the cause of Perseus in B.C. 168. They rendered Rome valuable assistance during the Mithridatic wars.

## PAGE 20.

1 **ad nostram memoriam**: 'down to our own day.' For other uses see 41, l. 21 *memoriae proditum*, 42, l. 4 *nostrae memoriae* attributive genitive, 62, l. 12 *post hominum memoriam*, 'within the recollection of,' and 27, l. 23 *qui antiquitatis memoriam superarit* where it is='the traditions of the past.'

**disciplina**: 'science' sc. *navalis*. Gk. *ἡ ναυτικὴ* (*τέχνη*).

3 **quae non**: 'as not to be able to defend.'

4 **maritimae**: qualifies *regionis* as well as *orae*.

5 **hercule**: an old vocative form of *Hercules*.

7 **magna ac multo maxima**: 'a great part, aye! far the greatest.'

8 **utilitatis**: see 14, l. 3 note on *belli utilitatem*.

9 **imperii**: referring to the capture of Roman magistrates by the pirates; see 53 ll. 24, 25.

**caruit**: 'has been deprived of,' has had to go without. So in l. 20 *Appia iam via carebamus*.

55 **Antiochum regem**: Antiochus III, surnamed 'the Great' (B.C. 223—187), became involved in war with Rome after the close of the

2nd Punic War; he was driven out of Greece and finally defeated by L. Scipio at the battle of Magnesia. His fleets were destroyed by the Romans in two naval battles off the coast of Ionia.

10 **Persem**: Perses or Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, was defeated by Aemilius Paullus at the battle of Pydna B.C. 168. There was no naval campaign worth speaking of, but he surrendered to the Roman admiral in the island of Samothrace whither he had fled.

13 **pares**: 'a match for.'

15 **salvos praestare**: see note on 47, l. 26, and cf. 70, l. 8.

16 **insula Delos**: the little island of Delos, during the great days of Greek history famous chiefly for its sanctity as the birthplace of Apollo, became a seat of commerce after the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. Its central position and excellent harbour marked it out for the purpose.

18 **referta divitiis**: 'full as it was,' or 'full though it was of riches.' Notice the force of this and the following epithets *parva*, *sine muro*; the Greek idiom can make this clearer by the present participle (wanting in Latin) of the verb 'to be.'

19 **idem**: nom. pl. = an emphatic re-assertion of *nos* the subject, 'we, I say.'

20 **Appia via**: the most famous of the Roman roads, was commenced by Appius Claudius when censor in B.C. 312. It ran from Rome to Capua, and was afterwards extended to Brundisium.

21 **carebamus**: 'were obliged to avoid.' Cf. *caruit* 54, l. 9.

22 **hunc ipsum locum**: the Rostra, or orators' platform in the Forum, so called from being adorned with the beaks (rostrum) or prow-ornaments of ships taken from the men of Antium in B.C. 338; hence used of a platform for speakers generally. The singular in this sense belongs almost entirely to later Latin, from which our modern use of the word 'rostrum' is borrowed.

56 24 **bono animo**: *animo* is used here not of courage, but of intention, Hortensius 'meant well,' cf. such phrases as *eo animo ut*, *eo consilio ut*...

25 **erant in eadem sententia**: 'were of the same opinion,' 'held the same view.' Cf. 69, l. 24 *manere in sententia*, and for another prepositional idiom, 65, l. 7 *esse in odio*.

26 **in salute communi**: the preposition denotes the sphere of interest here; 'where the common weal is concerned.'

28 **obtemperare**: 'to obey the promptings of their own indignation' (*dolor*).

30 **aliquando**: 'at length.'

**videremur**: 'we might be seen to,' or translate impersonally: see note on 47, l. 5.

57 32 **obtrectatum**: used impersonally: for *obtrectare* of carping opposition see 21, l. 20 *qui huic obtrectant legi*. 'Wherefore the carping opposition seems to me the more unworthy.'

33 **anne**: pleonastic for *an*, and much less usual.

**id quod**: or *quae res* is used (instead of *quod* alone) to refer to a group of words or an idea, cf. Caesar B.G. 4, 1 *multum sunt in venationibus...quae res vires alit*. (Allen and Greenough, Latin Grammar, 200 *e*.)

## Page 21.

1 **ne legaretur**: the *legati* were chosen by the Senate, but the general in command naturally had a say in the matter. The Lex Gabinia gave to Pompey the right of selecting his officials for the campaign, but Gabinius as tribune could not leave the city till his year of office was over. Moreover there was a natural feeling against a man's deriving personal promotion even indirectly from a measure which he had himself proposed. The Lex Licinia and the second Lex Aebutia laid down that when anyone brought forward a proposal affecting *potestas* or *curatio*, neither he nor his colleagues nor his relations were eligible even for subordinate posts in connexion with such office or power.

**expetenti ac postulanti**: 'at Pompey's special request.' See note on 5, l. 27 *deposci atque expeti*.

2 **quem velit**: the *legatus* of his choice; the mood is due to the implied feeling that it was because he wished it that the authorities refused to make the concession: contrast *quos voluerunt* in l. 4.

5 **dignitas**: 'prestige.'

6 **constituta**: more emphatic than *restituta*, as corresponding to *constitutus* in l. 8.

8 **periculo**: cf. 16, l. 20; the *lator legis* was responsible for the results of his law. The failure of Pompey would have meant ruin, perhaps death to Gabinius. As it was he was roughly handled by the Senators, who in the words of Dio ὀλίγου καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Γαυίνιον ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ συνεδρίῳ.

58 **an**: introduces a clause co-ordinate to *in uno Gabinio sunt*, etc.,

but really contrasted with it. In English we should make the first clause subordinate, introducing it by 'while.'

10 **quos...honoris causa nomino**: 'whom I mention with all respect'; from this formula (cf. the 'honourable member' of Parliamentary usage) we gather that they were living contemporaries of Cicero. Nothing else is known of them.

11 **in uno Gabinio**: 'in the case of Gabinius alone'; for the idiom cf. Virgil, Aen. 2, 541 *talis in hoste fuit Priamo.*

12 **diligentes**: 'scrupulous,' pedantically accurate.

13 **in hoc imperatore**: goes very awkwardly with *esse deberet*: Halm explains it as a rhetorical assimilation, *in* being loosely used for *cum*. Eberhard brackets from *in* to *constituit* as a gloss. The idea has been already expressed in 57, l. 7.

14 **praecipuo iure**: =*praeter alios*, or *potissimum*, 'though he should have a special right to be legatus.'

16 **gravabuntur**: 'do it grudgingly.'

**ego me profiteor relaturum**: Cicero as praetor had the right to bring a motion before the Senate (*referre ad senatum*). But his motion was liable to be vetoed by any magistrate who held the same or a higher office. A consul might further by an *edictum*, in the form *ne quis de ea re ad senatum referat*, declare the proposal out of order. As Halm points out, Cicero is making rather a needless display of courage. If the Manilian measure passed, Pompey's command against the pirates lapsed, and with it the objections to Gabinius (see 57, l. 1) fell to the ground.

17 **inimicum edictum**: H gives *cuiusquam iniquitas.*

18 **vestrum**: 'proceeding from you,' 'bestowed by you,' referring to the privilege (*ius beneficiumque*) granted to Pompey by the Lex Gabinia of nominating his own *legati* for the war against the pirates.

19 **intercessionem**: the right of interfering (*ius intercessionis*), and at once putting a stop to any measure which they deemed injurious to their order, was the special privilege of the Tribunes of the Plebs. In the Senate, however, a veto might be exercised by any of the higher magistrates under the conditions stated in note on l. 16; such interference was termed *intercessio collegae*. Cicero is referring here specially to the veto of the tribunes, thus indirectly flattering the people whose magistrate the tribune was.

20 **minantur**: sc. to veto or induce someone to veto.

**quid liceat**: 'what is permitted to them,' i.e. 'how far they may

go,' implying that the displeasure of the people is not to be trifled with.

22 **socius ascribitur**: 'is associated.' Eberhard reads *iure ascribitur*.

24 **delatum susceptumque confecit**: for the form of sentence cf. Livy 21, 40, 5 *sed ita decuit...deos ipsos...committere ac profligare bellum, nos...commissum ac profligatum conficere.*

59 26 **Q. Catuli**: see note on 51, l. 1.

**auctoritate et sententia**: 'weight and opinion' = 'weighty opinion.' For hendiadys see note on 33, l. 27.

27 **dicendum esse videatur**: for *videatur* see note on 11, l. 17. The word is almost impossible to translate here, unless we give it a parenthetical force, 'it remains, as it seems, for us to speak...'

**cum ex vobis quaereret**: at the time of the passing of the Gabinian Law.

28 **omnia poneretis**: 'staked your all upon Pompey.'

**si quid eo factum esset**: translate the second *si* by 'and.' For the euphemism 'if anything happened to him,' cf. εἴ τι πάθοι and Sall. Hist. fr. *si in Pompeio quid humani evenisset.*

29 **in quo**: *quo* is interrogative.

30 **cum**: when=*eo quod*, 'by the fact that you all said.' Cf. pro Rosc. Am. 19, 54 *verum concedo tibi, ut ea praetereas, quae cum taces, nulla esse concedis*; *cum taces*='by your silence.'

32 **talis vir**: cf. pro Sest. 47, 101 *qualis nuper Q. Catulus fuit, quem neque periculi tempestas neque honoris aura potuit umquam de suo cursu aut spe aut motu demovere.* Plutarch, Pomp. 16 says of him, 'he was in reputation for prudence and uprightness the greatest of the Romans of his time.'

33 **non et...et**: *non* is followed by *et...et* here, because the clause is virtually affirmative, *nulla res quam...non* being equivalent to 'everything.'

**consilio**: in de Off. 1, 22, 76 Cicero compares Catulus with Pompey, and adds *parvi enim foris sunt arma, nisi sit consilium domi.*

## Page 22.

3 **hoc magis**: see 13, l. 17 and note.

4 **vita atque virtute**: note the alliteration, 'a great man's time and talents.'

60 **at enim**: see note on 51, l. 33; *ne quid* introduces the words of the objector.

5 **exempla atque instituta**: 'the settled practice,' 'established usage.'

**non dicam**: the figure of *praeteritio*, see note on 48, l. 7.

6 **hoc loco**: 'at this point.' Cf. note on 51, l. 4.

7 **utilitati paruisse**: 'consulted' (or 'bowed to') 'expedience.'

8 **consiliorum rationes accommodasse**: 'adopted new plans to meet new emergencies': the *rationes* are strictly the calculations (see note on 1, l. 5) that lead to the *consilia*.

9 **Punicum atque Hispaniense**: the Third Punic War, and the siege of Numantia, see note on Scipio Aemilianus 47, l. 30.

10 **ab uno imperatore**: Scipio Aemilianus was elected consul for the first time (B.C. 147) when he was below the legal age, and had held no curule office. In B.C. 134 he was elected consul a second time for the Spanish campaign in defiance of the law *ne quis consul bis fieret*.

13 **nuper**: forty years before; *nuper* and *modo* are often used loosely, and the context must be taken into account in translating.

**esse visum ut**: cf. *placuit ut*, 'it seemed good to you.'

14 **C. Mario**: see note on Marius 47, l. 30.

15 **Teutonis**: from *Teutoni*, *-orum*, a collateral form of *Teutones*, *-um* the more familiar name.

61 16 **in quo novi constitui nihil vult**: 'in whose case Catulus will have no new precedent established.'

17 **summa**: belongs not to *nova* but to *voluntate*, 'with the full assent of.'

19 **quid tam novum**: supply *fuit*; this is to be inferred from the sequence *abesset* in l. 23.

**adulescentulum**: 'a mere stripling,' see 28, l. 31.

20 **conficere**: 'to raise.' See Introd. 13.

21 **ductu suo**: cf. 28, l. 4 *suis imperiis*.

23 **a senatorio gradu**: 'the rank of senator': at this time the quaestorship qualified a man for admission to the Senate; in other words, he must have completed his thirtieth year. Pompey, when sent to Sicily by Sulla, was only twenty-four.

24 **permitti**: 'should be entrusted.'

25 **in ea provincia**: sc. Africa.

26 **innocentia**: see note on 36, l. 4.

**gravitate**: 'dignity,' a peculiarly Roman virtue.

27 **deportavit**: the regular word for bringing an army home by sea.

29 **triumphare**: the right to triumph was confined by law to the

holders of the highest magisterial power, i.e. the *imperium* as belonging to a consul, praetor, dictator, proconsul and propraetor.

30 **vidit**: 'saw,' to be distinguished from *visere*, 'to flock to see.'

**omnium studio**: 'with universal enthusiasm.'

**concelebrandam**: sc. with holiday attire, garlands, and cries of *Io Triumphe!*

62 31 **quam ut**: notice how the *ut* clause corresponds to and takes the place of the preceding acc. with inf. clauses. For *ut* introducing a substantival clause see note on 24, l. 19.

32 **clarissimi fortissimique**: yet they had declined the command against Sertorius, and Cicero quotes with approval the bitter jest of Philippus in l. 4, which implies their want of capacity.

33 **pro consule**: = *cum imperio proconsulari*; the form *proconsul*, which is given in some MSS., belongs to a later period, and occurs rarely in Classical Latin.

## PAGE 23.

1 **non nemo**: here = *non nulli*.

4 **non pro...consulibus**: 'not instead of a consul, but instead of the consuls': this jest at the expense of Lepidus and Brutus, is turned by Cicero into a compliment to Pompey. Notice how in l. 6 he assumes the disparaging reproach as an admitted fact.

**mittere**: Philippus said *mitto*; similarly we find *decerno* used by individual senators, the egotism therefore is only apparent.

5 **rei publicae bene gerendae**: in the same sense *rem optime gerere* in 61, l. 21.

**constituebatur**: 'was founded on him,' a stronger word than the more usual *ponebatur*, for which cf. 60, l. 14.

7 **singulare**: 'unprecedented.'

**ex senatus consulto**: the power to dispense with legal restrictions (*legibus aliquem solvere*) in individual cases, which originally belonged to the people, had been assumed by the Senate; hence the phrase *ex senatus consulto*.

8 **ullum alium**: Cicero probably refers to the curule offices, the first of which, the aedileship, could be held *per legem* at the age of 37. Pompey, when he attained his consulship in B.C. 70, was not quite 36.

Mommsen takes *ullum alium* literally, of any office, and says that the legal age for the quaestorship, the first step on the ladder,

was 37, though in practice men were allowed to hold the quaestorship after completing their thirtieth year. The laws which determined the age at which a man might be a candidate for the several magistracies were known as *leges annales*, and the earliest *lex annalis* was passed in B.C. 180. It fixed the age for the quaestorship at 31, aedileship at 37, praetorship at 40, consulship at 43. Cicero refers with pride to his having been elected to all his offices *suo anno*, i.e. at the earliest possible age.

11 **in omnibus**: 'in the case of all.'

**nova**: 'violations of precedent,' 'novel precedents.' See note on 47, l. 5.

63 14 **haec tot exempla**: 'all these instances'; for *tot* and *tanta*, used after a demonstrative for *multa* and *magna*, cf. 31, l. 7 *hoc tantum bellum*.

**profecta sunt**: from *proficiscor*. Cf. ad Fam. 3, 1, 1 *omnia quae a me profecta sunt in te*, 'all you have received from me.'

15 **ceterorum...hominum**: 'all the other exalted personages of the same rank.'

17 **videant ne**: cf. 11, l. 17 *videte*.

**non ferendum**: 'not to be borne': for the acc. with inf. construction that follows, cf. Cat. 1, 7, 18 *me totam esse in metu propter te unum, non est ferendum*.

18 **illorum auctoritatem**: from the date of Sulla's retirement in B.C. 79 down to the year B.C. 70 the Senate had had matters its own way, and had, without consulting the people, conferred extraordinary commands; for instance in the despatch of Pompey to Spain. Cicero now skilfully claims the same right for the people, whose cause he thus appears to be pleading.

**illorum**: *suam* might have been expected, but *illorum* gives a sharper contrast with *vestrum*.

Notice that the Latin idiom here employs two co-ordinate clauses where in English we should make the first subordinate. 'That while their authority has been ratified, your judgment is challenged': see note on 58, l. 8.

21 **praesertim cum**: 'and that though....' Cf. 12, l. 7, and 14, l. 29.

**suo iure**: cf. the phrase *meo iure*, 'with perfect right'; the people might reasonably claim that their judgment of Pompey had been justified by his successful conduct of the war with the pirates.

24 **quem...praeponeretis**: see note on 37, l. 11.

64 26 **studia...regere**: 'to guide your enthusiasm by their counsels.'

27 **plus tum...vidistis** : 'showed more (or deeper) political insight.' For *res publica* see note on 8, l. 27, and for the sense cf. Phil. 2, 15, 39 *cum me vidisse plus fateretur*, 'when he admitted that I was more far-seeing.'

30 **aliquando** : see note on 56, l. 30.

**principes** : the leaders of the Optimates, Catulus and Hortensius especially.

31 **auctoritati parendum** : 'that they must bow to the authority of.' The double dative *sibi...auctoritati* is not ambiguous here : see note on 6, l. 7.

32 **Asiatico et regio** : 'in Asia and against kings,' both epithets are intended to suggest ideas of oriental wealth and splendid booty. Cicero in Ep. ad Q. fr. 1, 1, 19 calls Asia *corruptrix provincia*, and he implies that it needs the *virtus* of a Pompey to resist the temptations to which an ordinary general would succumb.

## Page 24.

1 **magnae et multae** : cf. 6, l. 4 *magna et gravia*, and the note there. Dr Reid in a note on de Amicitia 9, 30 says 'when two adjectives are in agreement with the same noun Cicero generally connects them with *et*, where English idiom would often require them to be put side by side. When *multus* is one of *two* adjectives the conjunction is rarely left out, but if *multus* is one of three adjectives the *et* sometimes disappears,' e.g. 6, l. 4.

**requiruntur** : 'are needed'; cf. 6, l. 6, and 65, l. 12. For the *aliae virtutes* see 36, l. 2. Cicero gives a new turn to the argument by showing the special need for a man of Pompey's moral character in the province of Asia.

2 **interiorum** : i.e. *Asiae interioris*.

3 **nostrum imperatorem** : see note on 46, l. 14.

**nihil aliud** : = *de nulla alia re*.

4 **deinde** : 'then too,' even if there are any whom a sense of honour and self-restraint keeps within bounds.

**pudore** : like αἰδώς, the sense of shame that keeps a man from doing wrong.

5 **tales** : like τοιούτους must often be rendered more precisely in English. Our idiom dislikes the vague and colourless 'such'; say 'so noble.'

65 7 **quanto in odio simus**: 'how detested we are'; cf. the phrase *in honore esse apud aliquem*.

9 **propter...libidines et iniurias**: 'owing to the acts of lust and injustice,' the plural of abstract nouns often acquires a concrete force. Cf. *laudes* in prose and verse of 'praiseworthy deeds.'

**fanum**: contrast Pompey's behaviour at Jerusalem where, as Cicero tells us in pro Flacco 28, 67, *at Cn. Pompeius captis Hierosolymis victor ex illo fano nihil attigit*.

13 **quibus causa belli...inferatur**: 'against whom a pretext of war may be alleged'; Cicero uses *inferre* here on the analogy of the common phrase *bellum inferre*: for *quibus* see note on 37, l. 11.

66 14 **coram**: 'face to face.' See note on *propter* 13, l. 11.

15 **disputarem**: 'I would discuss,' not 'dispute.'

17 **an**: 'or rather.'

18 **hostium simulatione**: 'under pretence of attacking the enemy,' a not uncommon looseness of expression. Cf. ad Fam. 11, 13, 5 *eas copias, quas diu simulatione rei publicae* (i.e. of defending the commonwealth) *comparabant, subito ad patriae periculum converterunt*.

19 **non modo**: = *non dicam*.

20 **animos ac spiritus**: 'arrogance and insolence.'

**capere**: 'contain,' χωρεῖν. Cf. pro Mil. 32, 87 *capere eius amentiam civitas, Italia, provinciae, regna non poterant*.

21 **collatis signis**: 'in a pitched battle.'

23 **idem**: 'unless he is at the same time one who....'

25 **manus, oculos, animum**: these accusatives repeat and expand in a climax the *se* of l. 23.

26 **Asiaticum regiumque**: see note on 64, l. 32.

67 27 **ecquam**: in impassioned questions: = *num quam*.

**pacatam fuisse**: 'has been allowed to remain at peace'; for *pacatus* see 39, l. 32.

32 **pecunia publica**: cf. 37, l. 13 *pecuniam ex aerario depromptam ad bellum administrandum*; the generals took the money granted from the treasury for the fitting out of a fleet and spent it on themselves. Cicero is alluding especially to M. Antonius Creticus, and C. Verres. For the latter see Verr. 5, 25, 63 *cum propter istius hanc tantam avaritiam nomine classis esset in Sicilia, re quidem vera naves inanes*.

**praeter paucos**: among the few was probably to be numbered P. Servilius (68, l. 11) who was present at the time.

33 **classium nomine**: 'with fleets that existed only on paper.'

**ut**: introduces a substantival clause which is governed by

*adsequi*; the sense is, 'they achieved nothing save our manifest degradation.'

**detrimentis accipiendis**: cf. 2, l. 18 *honoribus mandandis*.

## Page 25.

1 **maiore**: i.e. greater than if we had avoided fighting altogether. *X*.

2 **iacturis**: expense, i.e. largess to men of influence who helped to secure their appointment, see 37, l. 14.

3 **condicionibus**: 'bargains,' especially with creditors, whose exorbitant terms they trusted to meet out of the plunder of their provinces.

**videlicet**: generally ironical, as here.

4 **quasi vero**: 'as though forsooth.'

5 **cum...tum**: cf. note on 6, l. 2.

**alienis**: cf. 36, l. 9 *ex aliorum contentione*, and Tacitus Agricola 41, *sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur*.

6S 6 **dubitare quin**: cf. note on 49, l. 22.

7 **inter tot annos**: 'in the course of so many years,' distinguish from *intra* 'within the space of.'

10 **est vobis auctor**: 'you have the authority of.'

**omnium**: = *omnis generis*.

11 **P. Servilius**: *Vatia* surnamed *Isauricus*, successful against the Pirates and the Isauri, B.C. 78—75.

12 **cum...deliberetis**: 'as you are discussing,' *cum deliberatis* would mean 'whenever you discuss.'

13 **C. Curio**: C. Scribonius Curio as proconsul of Macedonia B.C. 75—73 fought against the Thracians and Dardanians. He was the first Roman general who advanced as far as the Danube.

14 **beneficiis**: see note on 51, l. 1: with *beneficiis* some such word as *ornatus* must be supplied from *praeditus*, which belongs strictly only to *ingenio* and *prudentia*.

15 **Cn. Lentulus**: one of Pompey's legati in the war with the Pirates. When censor in B.C. 70 he struck 64 senators, at least one eighth of the whole number, off the roll.

16 **pro**: as befitted the high offices you have bestowed upon him, see note on 4, l. 18.

17 **C. Cassius**: consul in B.C. 73: he was defeated by Spartacus in 72.

18 **videte**: Halm retains the vulgate reading *videte ut* and refers to pro Roscio Am. 46, 135 *etiam videtis ut omnes despiciat*, 'you see how he looks down on all,' but the context seems to require 'whether,' and Madvig's conjecture *horumne* gives a satisfactory sense.

Eberhard retains *ut*, bracketing *quare videte* as a gloss, and connects it with the preceding clauses.

19 **auctoritatibus**: abl. case, 'to reply to their arguments by the authority of these names.'

69 21 **istam tuam**: with no contemptuous force.

22 **legem...sententiam**: 'your measure, your intention, your speech.'
**vehementissime**: 'most heartily.'

23 **auctore populo**: 'with the approval of the people,' as shown by their crowded attendance and enthusiasm, see l. 26 *cum tantam multitudinem* etc.

24 **vim aut minas**: see note on 57, l. 8 for the treatment of Gabinius at the hands of the aristocrats.

25 **animi**: 'spirit.'

27 **quantam...videmus**: Eberhard brackets these words as a gloss on *tantam*, on the ground of the meaningless repetition of *videamus*, *videmus*.

29 **re...facultate**: 'the proposal or the possibility of carrying it into effect.'

31 **beneficio**: is explained by *potestate praetoria*, see note on 51, l. 1.

PAGE 26.

1 **defero**: 'I place at the disposal of....'

70 2 **loco temploque**: 'consecrated spot,' i.e. the rostra. The word *templum* does not necessarily imply a building, it can be applied to any space marked off by the ritual of the augurs. Such a *locus inauguratus* was necessary for the transaction of business with the people, and hence the rostra came to be a *templum*, cf. Livy 8, 14, 12 *rostris earum* (sc. *navium Antiatium*) *suggestum in foro exstructum adornare placuit, rostraque id templum appellatum*.

**praesident**: 'protect'; Cicero points to the temples which surrounded the forum and towered above it from the Capitoline hill.

3 **ad rem publicam adeunt**: 'enter upon public life,' *adeunt* for the more usual *accedunt*. For *res publica* see note on 8, l. 27.

4 **rogatu**: cf. *iussu*, *iniussu alicuius*.

**quo**: sometimes used in final clauses without a comparative.

**Cn. Pompei gratiam**: see Introd. 21.

6 **amplitudine**: 'elevation.'

**periculis**: sc. *repellendis*, dat. of purpose, so *honoribus adipiscendis*. Cf. *remedia morbis et vulneribus*.

8 **ut**: 'in so far as.' For *praestare* cf. 55, l. 15.

9 **honorem**: in general sense 'post of honour,' but Cicero doubtless is thinking of the consulship.

**ex hoc loco**: as a political orator.

10 **eadem...ratione**: Cicero returns to the point of view from which he started, see 1, ll. 5—17, he means still to earn political promotion by his energy as an advocate.

11 **feret**: 'if such is your good pleasure,' for other intransitive usages of *fero* cf. *ut fert opinio, si occasio tulerit, sic fata ferebant*.

71 12 **mihi**: the dative is often found with *susceptum* and other perfect participles, especially when they are used in an adjective sense. Cf. *mihi res tota provisa est*, Verr. 4, 42, 91 and *mihi deliberatum et constitutum est*, Leg. Ag. 1, 8, 25. It is hardly a dative of the agent, for instance the last quotation means 'it is for me a thing deliberated on and determined.'

13 **ut...ut**: note the repetition of *ut* which is not common in classical writers, 'so far from seeming...I am aware.'

16 **non inutiles**: = *utilissimas*, a good instance of litotes or meiosis.

20 **rationibus**: 'interests,' see note on 1, l. 5.

# VOCABULARY

## ABBREVIATIONS.

| | |
|---|---|
| abl. | ablative. |
| acc. | accusative. |
| adj. | adjective. |
| adv. | adverb. |
| c. | common. |
| card. | cardinal. |
| comp. | comparative. |
| conj. | conjunction. |
| def. | defective. |
| dem. | demonstrative. |
| f. | feminine. |
| gen. | genitive. |
| impers. | impersonal. |
| indecl. | indeclinable. |
| interj. | interjection. |
| interr. | interrogative. |
| irreg. | irregular. |
| m. | masculine. |
| n. | neuter. |
| neg. | negative. |
| num. | number, numeral. |
| ord. | ordinal. |
| part. | participle. |
| pass. | passive. |
| perf. | perfect. |
| pl. | plural. |
| poss. | possessive. |
| prep. | preposition. |
| pron. | pronoun. |
| reflex. | reflexive. |
| rel. | relative. |
| sing. | singular. |
| subst. | substantive. |
| superl. | superlative. |
| v. | verb. |
| v. a. | verb active. |
| v. dep. | verb deponent. |
| v. n. | verb neuter. |
| 1, 2, 3, 4 | 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th conjugation. |

**ā, ab**, prep. with abl. *by, from.*

**abdĭtus**, perf. pass. part. of **abdo**; as adj. *hidden.*

**absum**, -esse, āfui, irreg. v. n. *to be absent.* **tantum abest ut... videar**, § 71, *so far am I from seeming.*

**ac**, conj. *and also, and.*

**accĭdo**, no supine, accĭdi, 3, v. n. *to happen.*

**accipio**, accēpi, acceptum, 3, v. a. *to receive*, § 24 *to learn* (by tradition).

**accommŏdo**, 1, v. a. *to adapt, accommodate to.*

**accūrātissimē**, superl. adv. *with the utmost care.*

**ācer**, acris, acre, adj. *sharp, keen, fierce.*

**ad**, prep. with acc. *to, towards*; *as regards*; *for the purpose of, for, with a view to.*

**addūco**, -ducere, -duxi, -ductum, 3, v. a. *to lead* or *bring.*

**adĕo**, adĭi, adĭtum, 4, v. a. or n. *to approach, go to.* **adire ad rem publicam**, § 70, *to enter upon public life.*

**adfĕro**, -ferre, attŭli, allātum, irreg. v. a. *to bring to*; *to cause.* **vim adferre alicui** *to offer violence to anyone.*

**adficio**, -ficere, -feci, -fectum, 3, v. a. *to affect, to do something to one, usually with abl.* **adficere aliquem honore** *to honour a man, confer office on him.*

**adfingo**, -finxi, -fictum, 3, v. a. *to invent, add falsely.*

**adfĭgo**, -fixi, -fictum, 3, v. a. *to strike* or *cast down.*

**adhūc**, adv. *hitherto, as yet.*

**adĭmo**, -ēmi, -emptum, 3, v. a. *to take away.*

**adĭtus**, -ūs, m. *approach, access.*
**adiūmentum**, -i, n. *help, support.*
**adiungo**, -iunxi, -iunctum, 3, v. a. *to join* or *add to.*
**adlicio**, -lexi, -lectum, 3, v. a. *to draw to, attract.*
**administra**, -ae, f. *a handmaid, assistant.*
**administro**, 1, v. a. *to conduct, manage.*
**admŏneo**, 2, v. a. *to advise, remind, warn.*
**admurmurātio**, -ōnis, f. *murmur, usually of disapprobation.*
**adorno**, 1, v. a. *to provide with, equip.*
**adsenserint**, perf. of adsentio, 4, v. n. *to assent to, approve*, see note on § 48, l. 9.
**adsĕquor**, -i, -secutus, 3, v. a. *to gain, attain to.*
**adsum**, -fui, -esse, irreg. v. n. *to be present, be at hand, to help.*
**ădŭlescentia**, -ae, f. *the time of youth, youth.*
**adulescentŭlus**, -i, m. *a very young man.*
**adventicius**, -a, -um, adj. *coming from abroad, from outside.*
**adventus**, -ūs, m. *approach, arrival.*
**aedĭfĭco**, 1, v. a. *to build.*
**aegrius**, comp. adv. *more unwillingly.*
**aequus**, -a, -um, adj. *equal, fair, right.*
**aerārium**, -i, n. *the treasury.*
**aestās**, -ātis, f. *summer.*
**aetās**, -ātis, f. *time of life, age.*
**ager**, -ri, m. *territory, field*; in pl. *country.*
**agĭto**, 1, v. a. *to stir up, rouse.*
**agnosco**, -ōvi, -ĭtum, 3, v. a. *to recognise.*
**ăgo**, ēgi, actum, 3, v. a. and n. *to do, perform*; **agere de** *to discuss, treat of*; **agitur de** *it is a question of, something is at stake*; **age vero** *come now!* **agere cum populo** see note on § 1, l. 2.
**aio**, def. v. *to say.*
**ălĭēnus**, -a, -um, adj. *belonging to another.*
**alĭquando**, adv. *at some time, at length.*
**alĭquis**, -quae, -quod (subst. -qua, -quid), indef. pron. adj. *some.*
**alĭquot**, indecl. num. adj. *some, several.*
**alĭus**, -a, -ud, pron. adj. *another, other*; **alius...alius** *one...another*, plur. *some...others.*
**alter**, -era, -erum, pron. adj. *one of two, the other*; **alter...alter**, *the one...the other* (*of two*). In § 47 *another.*
**amans**, pres. part. used as adj. with gen. case (superl. amantissimus), *loving, devoted to.*
**amīcus**, -a, -um, adj. (superl. amicissimus), *friendly.* **amīcus**, -i, m. subst. *a friend.*
**āmitto**, -misi, -missum, 3, v. a. *to lose.*
**ămo**, 1, v. a. *to love.*
**amoenĭtās**, -ātis, f. *charm* (*of scenery*).
**amplĭfico**, 1, v. a. *to extend, increase.*
**amplĭtūdo**, -ĭnis, f. *greatness.*
**amplus**, -a, -um, adj. *ample, full, honourable, distinguished.*
**an**, conj. following utrum it means *or*; as a direct interrog. *is it?*
**anceps**, -cipitis, adj. *double, twofold.*
**anĭmus**, -i, m. *mind, feelings*; in pl. *spirit, courage.*
**annĕ**, conj. equivalent to an, *or.*
**annōna**, -ae, f. *the price of corn*, or *corn.*
**annus**, -i, m. *a year.*
**antĕ**, prep. with acc. *before*; adv. *before, previously.*
**anteă**, adv. *before.*
**antecello**, -ĕre (no perf. or supine), 3, v. n. *to excel.*
**antĭquĭtās**, -ātis, f. *antiquity, ancient times.*
**ăpertus**, -a, -um, adj. *open.*

**appăro**, 1, v. a. *to prepare, get ready.*
**appello**, 1, v. a. *to accost, address, speak to.*
**appĕto**, -īvi or -ĭi, -ītum, 3, v. a. *to try to get*; **appetens gloriae** *eager for glory.*
**apud**, prep. with acc. *among, with.*
**arbĭtror**, 1, dep. v. a. *to think.*
**argentum**, -i, n. *silver, money.*
**arma**, -ōrum, n. pl. *arms.*
**ars**, artis, f. *art, device, quality.*
**ascrībo**, -scripsi, -scriptum, 3, v. a. *to add* or *join to, associate with.*
**assiduitās**, -ātis, f. *persistence, tenacity.*
**ăt**, conj. *but, yet*; **at ĕnim** *but you will say, but I shall be told.*
**atque**, conj. *and, as.*
**attenŭo**, 1, v. a. *to lessen, diminish.*
**attingo**, -tĭgi, -tactum, 3, v. a. *to attain to, reach.*
**auctor**, -ōris, m. *adviser*; **auctore populo Romāno** *with the approval of the R. P.*
**auctōritās**, -ātis, f. *authority, advice, prestige.*
**audĕo**, ausus sum, 2, v. a. and n. *to dare, venture.*
**audio**, 4, v. a. *to hear.*
**aufĕro**, abstŭli, ablātum, v. irreg. a. *to carry off.*
**auris**, -is, f. *ear.*
**aurum**, -i, n. *gold.*
**aut**, conj. *either, or.*
**autem**, conj. *but, moreover.*
**auxilium**, -ii, n. *help.*
**avāritia**, -ae, f. *avarice, greed.*
**avĭdus**, -a, -um, adj. *greedy of, eager for.*
**avītus**, -a, -um, adj. *ancestral.*

**barbărus**, -a, -um, adj. *barbarian, foreign, i.e. not Roman.*
**bĕātus**, -a, -um, adj. *happy, blessed.*
**bellĭcōsus**, -a, -um, adj. *warlike.*
**bello**, 1, v. a. *to carry on war.*
**bellum**, -i, n. *war.*
**bĕnĕ**, adv. *well.*
**beneficium**, -ii, n. *service, favour* (*often of office bestowed*).
**bīni**, -ōrum, distrib. num. *used for duo with copiis* § 9, *see note.*
**bŏna**, -ōrum, n. *goods, property.*
**bŏnum**, -i, n. *advantage.*
**bŏnus**, -a, -um, adj. *good.*
**brĕvis**, -e, adj. *short.*
**brĕvĭter**, adv. *briefly*; superl. brevissimē.

**caelum**, -i, n. *heaven, sky.*
**călămĭtās**, -ātis, f. *misfortune, disaster.*
**căpiō**, cēpī, captum, 3, v. a. *to take, capture*, or *contain.*
**cărĕo**, -ui, -ītum, 2, v. n. *to be without, to be deprived of.*
**cārĭtās**, -ātis, f. *dearness, high price.*
**castē**, adv. *blamelessly.*
**cāsus**, -ūs, m. *chance, emergency.*
**causa**, -ae, f. *cause, theme*; **causā**, with gen. *for the sake of.*
**cĕlĕber**, -ebris, -ebre, adj. *crowded, famous.*
**cĕlĕrĭtās**, -ātis, f. *speed.*
**celeriter**, adv. *quickly.*
**centŭria**, -ae, f. *century, a division of the people in the comitia centuriata.*
**centŭriātus**, -ūs, m. *the office of centurion.*
**certus**, -a, -um, adj. *fixed, certain*; adv. certē.
**cēterī**, -ae, -a, adj. *the rest.*
**cingo**, cinxi, cinctum, 3, v. a. *to surround.*
**cīvīlis**, -e, adj. *belonging to a citizen, civil.*
**cīvis**, -is, c. *a citizen.*
**clārus**, -a, -um, adj. *clear, famous.*
**classis**, -is, f. *a fleet.*
**claudo**, clausi, clausum, 3, v. a. *to close, shut in.*
**coepi**, -isse, coeptum (only perf. tenses), defect. v. a. and n. *to begin.*
**cōgĭto**, 1, v. a. *to think, purpose, plan.*

**cognitio**, -ōnis, f. *knowledge, acquaintance with, study.*
**cognosco**, -ōvi, -ĭtum, 3, v. a. *to learn, understand,* perf. *know.*
**cōgo**, cŏēgi, cŏactum, 3, v. a. *to compel, get together, collect.*
**cŏhaereo**, -haesi, -haesum, 2, v. n. *to be closely connected with.*
**cŏhĭbeo**, -hibui, -hibitum, 2, v. a. *to check, restrain.*
**collectio**, -ōnis, f. *a collecting together, gathering.*
**collĭgo**, -lēgi, -lectum, 3, v. a. *to collect, gather.*
**collŏco**, 1, v. a. *to place.*
**cŏmĕs**, -ĭtis, c. *companion.*
**cŏmĭtia**, -ōrum, n. *meeting for election, election.*
**commĕātus**, -ūs, m. *intercourse.*
**commĕmŏro**, 1, v. a. *to call to mind, mention.*
**commendo**, 1, v. a. *to entrust.*
**commĕo**, 1, v. n. *to frequent, resort to.*
**committo**, -mīsi, -missum, 3, v. a. *to give up to, entrust.*
**commŏdum**, -i, n. *advantage.*
**commŏror**, -morāri, -morātus, 1, v. dep. *to tarry, sojourn.*
**commŏveo**, -mōvi, -mōtum, 2, v. a. *to move, disturb.*
**communis**, -e, adj. *general, affecting all.*
**compărātio**, -ōnis, f. *preparation.*
**compăro**, 1, v. a. *to prepare, get together.*
**complĕo**, -plēvi, -plētum, 2, v. a. *to fill.*
**complūres**, -a, and -ĭa, pl. adj. *several, very many.*
**comprŏbo**, 1, v. a. *to approve.*
**concēdo**, -cessi, -cessum, 3, v. a. and n. *to yield, grant, allow.*
**concĕlĕbro**, 1, v. a. *to attend in crowds.*
**concerto**, 1, v. a. *to contend, strive with.*
**concĭdo**, -cĭdi, 3, v. n. *to collapse.*
**concĭlĭo**, 1, v. a. *to gain, win over.*
**concĭpĭo**, -cēpi, -ceptum, 3, v. a. *to receive, incur.*
**concĭto**, 1, v. a. *to excite, stir up.*
**concŭpĭo**, -īvi or -ĭi, -ītum, 3, v. a. *to covet.*
**condicio**, -ōnis, f. *condition, terms.*
**confĕro**, -ferre, -tuli, collātum, v. irreg. a. *to apply*; with se *to betake oneself*; **signa conferre** *to join battle*, **signīs collātīs** *in pitched battle.*
**confĭcĭo**, -fēci, -fectum, 3, v. a. *to finish, complete, accomplish.*
**confirmo**, 1, v. a. and n. *to strengthen, make firm*; *to assert.*
**confĭtĕor**, -fitēri, -fessus, 2, v. a. dep. *to confess.*
**confligo**, -flixi, -flictum, 3, v. n. *to contend, fight with.*
**congĕro**, -gessi, -gestum, 3, v. a. *to heap up, accumulate.*
**coniectūra**, -ae, f. *a conjecture, guess.*
**coniungo**, -iunxi, -iunctum, 3, v. a. *to join together.*
**coniux**, -ŭgis, f. *a wife.*
**cōnor**, -āri, -ātus, 1, v. dep. *to attempt.*
**conquĭesco**, -quĭēvi, quĭētum, 3, v. n. *to be at rest, to stop.*
**consĕquor**, -sĕqui, -sĕcūtus, 3 v. dep. *to attain*; *to follow, ensue.*
**conservo**, 1, v. a. *to preserve, save.*
**consĭdĕro**, 1, v. a. *to consider, think over.*
**consilium**, -ii or -i, n. *wisdom, plan, advice.*
**conspectus**, -ūs, m. *sight, spectacle.*
**conspicio**, -spexi, -spectum, 3, v. a. *to perceive, look at.*
**constantia**, -ae, f. *firmness.*
**constituo**, -ŭi, -ūtum, 3, v. a. *to establish, appoint, determine.*
**consuetūdo**, -ĭnis, f. *custom.*
**consul**, -sŭlis, m. *consul.*
**consŭlāris**, -is, m. *an ex-consul.*
**consŭlo**, -sŭlui, -sultum, 3, v. a. and n.; with acc. *to ask the advice of*; with dat. *to consult the interests of.*

**consulto**, adv. *purposely, deliberately.*
**consultum**, -i, n. *a decree.*
**contemno**, -tempsi, -temptum, 3, v. a. *to despise.*
**contendo**, -tendi, -tentum, 3, v. a. and n. *to contend, strive with.*
**contentĭo**, -ōnis, f. *struggle, comparison, contrast.*
**contentus**, -a, -um, part. of **contineo**; as adj. *contented.*
**continentia**, -ae, f. *self-restraint, moderation.*
**contĭneo**, -ui, -tentum, 2, v. a. *to restrain.*
**continuus**, -a, -um, adj. *successive.*
**contrā**, prep. with acc. *against*; adv. *on the other hand.*
**contrārius**, -a, -um, adj. *opposite, contrary.*
**convĕnit**, impers. *it is meet, fitting.*
**copia**, -ae, f. *abundance*; pl. **copiae**, *forces.*
**cōpiōsus**, -a, -um, adj. *having abundance, rich.*
**cōram**, adv. *openly, face to face.*
**cŏtidiānus**, -a, -um, adj. *daily.*
**cŏtidiē**, adv. *every day, daily.*
**crēdo**, -dĭdi, -dĭtum, 3, v. n. *to believe, trust.*
**cresco**, crēvi, crētum, 3, v. n. *to grow, increase.*
**culpa**, -ae, f. *fault.*
**cultūra**, -ae, f. *cultivation, tillage.*
**cum**, prep. with abl. *with*; **cum**, conj. *when, since, although*; **cum**...**tum** *not only...but also.*
**cunctus**, -a, -um, adj. *all, all together.*
**cŭpīdĭtās**, -ātis, f. *greed.*
**cŭpĭdus**, -a, -um, adj. *greedy, covetous.*
**cŭpĭo**, -īvi or -ĭi, -ītum, 3, v. a. *to desire.*
**cūra**, -ae, f. *care, anxiety*; **cūrae**, pred. dat. with esse *to be* (*for*) *a care.*
**cursus**, -ūs, m. *voyage, course.*
**custōdĭa**, -ae, f. *protection*, in pl. *guards, sentinels.*
**dē**, prep. with abl. *from, concerning.*
**dēbĕo**, -ui, -ĭtum, 2, v. a. *to owe, I ought.*
**dēclāro**, 1, v. a. *to make clear.*
**decŭmae**, -ārum, f. *a tithe, tax.*
**dēdĭtĭo**, -ōnis, f. *surrender.*
**dēdo**, -dĭdi, -dĭtum, 3, v. a. *to surrender.*
**dēfendo**, -di, -sum, 3, v. a. *to defend.*
**dēfĕro**, -ferre, -tŭli, -lātum, v. irreg. a. *to bring, confer upon.*
**dĕindĕ**, adv. *after that, then.*
**dēlābor**, -lābi, -lapsus, 3, v. dep. n. *to glide down, descend.*
**dēlectātio**, -ōnis, f. *delight, pleasure.*
**dēleo**, -lēvi, -lētum, 2, v. a. *to destroy, wipe out.*
**dēlīberātio**, -ōnis, f. *consideration.*
**dēlĭbero**, 1, v. a. *to consider, deliberate.*
**dēlĭgo**, -lēgi, -lectum, 3, v. a. *to choose.*
**dēnīque**, adv. *lastly, in short.*
**dēnŏto**, 1, v. a. *to mark out.*
**dēpello**, -pŭli, -pulsum, 3, v. a. *to drive away, avert.*
**dēporto**, 1, v. a. *carry away, bring home.*
**dēposco**, -pŏposci, 3, v. a. *to demand, request urgently.*
**dēprĕcātor**, -ōris, m. *an intercessor.*
**dēprĭmo**, -essi, -essum, 3, v. a. *to sink.*
**dēprōmo**, -prompsi, -promptum, 3, v. a. *to draw out.*
**dēsĕro**, -serui, -sertum, 3, v. a. *to desert, abandon.*
**dēsīdĕrĭum**, -ii or -i, n. *longing for, want of.*
**dēsum**, -esse, -fui, irreg. v. n. *to be wanting, to fail.*
**dētrăho**, -traxi, -tractum, 3, v. a. *to draw off, disparage.*
**dētrīmentum**, -i, n. *harm, loss.*
**dĕus**, -i, m. *god*, nom. pl. **dī**.
**dēvŏco**, 1, v. a. *to call away, divert from.*

**dīco**, **dixi**, dictum, 3, v. a. *to say, to tell.*
**diēs**, diēī, c. in sing. m. in pl. *day.*
**differo**, -ferre, distulī, dīlātum, irreg. v. a. *to differ, put off.*
**difficilis**, -e, adj. *difficult.*
**diffīdo**, -fisus sum, 3, v. n. *to distrust.*
**dignĭtas**, -ātis, f. *honour, greatness.*
**dignus**, -a, -um, adj. *worthy.*
**dīlātio**, -ōnis, f. *adjournment.*
**dilĭgens**, -entis, adj. *careful, scrupulous.*
**dilĭgenter**, -ius, -issimē, adv. *carefully.*
**dīlĭgo**, -lexi, -lectum, 3, v. a. *to love.*
**dīmĭco**, 1, v. a. *to fight.*
**dimitto**, -mīsī, -missum, 3, v. a. *to dismiss, discharge.*
**dīrĭpio**, -ŭi, -eptum, 3, v. a. *to ravage, plunder.*
**discēdo**, -cessi, -cessum, 3, v. n. *to depart.*
**disciplīna**, -ae, f. *training, science.*
**discrīmen**, -ĭnis, n. *danger, risk.*
**disiungo**, -xi, -nctum, 3, v. a. *to divide, separate.*
**dispergo**, -si, -sum, 3, v. a. *to scatter.*
**dispŭto**, 1, v. a. *to discuss.*
**dissentio**, -sensi, -sensum, 3, v. n. *to dissent.*
**dissĭpo**, 1, v. a. *to scatter.*
**distringo**, -strinxi, -strictum, 3, v. a. *to draw two ways, to distract.*
**diū**, diutius, diutissime, adv. *for a long time.*
**diūturnĭtās**, -ātis, f. *length (of time).*
**diūturnus**, -a, -um, adj. *long-lasting.*
**dīversus**, -a, -um, adj. *widely separated, different.*
**dīvĭdo**, -vīsi, -vīsum, 3, v. a. *to divide, distribute.*
**dīvīnĭtus**, adv. *providentially, by divine favour.*
**dīvīnus**, -a, -um, adj. *divine, superhuman.*
**dīvĭtiae**, -ārum, f. *riches, wealth.*
**do**, dăre, dĕdi, dătum, 1, v. a. *to give.*
**dŏceo**, -cui, -ctum, 2, v. a. *to teach, inform.*
**dŏlor**, -ōris, m. *grief, indignation.*
**dōmicilium**, -ii, n. *home, residence.*
**dŏmus**, -ūs, f. *house, home*; locative **domi** *at home.*
**dŭbĭto**, 1, v. a. *to be in doubt, to hesitate.*
**dŭbĭus**, -a, -um, adj. *doubtful.*
**dūco**, -xi, -ctum, 3, v. a. *to lead*; *to draw* or *derive*; *to think* or *consider.*
**ductus**, -ūs, m. *command, leadership.*
**dum**, conj. *while*; *as long as*; *until*; *provided that, if only.*
**dŭo**, -ae, -o, card. num. *two.*
**dŭodĕcim**, card. num. *twelve.*
**dux**, dŭcis, c. *leader, guide, general.*

**ē, ex**, prep. with abl. *out of*; *according to*; *after.* **ex omni aditu** *at every point of approach*; **aliqua ex parte** *to some extent.*
**ecquis**, ecquid, strengthened form of quis? *is there anyone who?*
**ēdictum**, -i, n. *a proclamation, edict.*
**ēdūco**, -xi, -ctum, 3, v. a. *to lead out, take out.*
**effĭcio**, -fēci, -fectum, 3, v. a. *to produce, to bring it about that....*
**effŭgio**, -fūgi, 3, v. a. and n. *to escape.*
**ĕgo**, mei, pers. pron. *I.*
**ēgrĕgĭus**, -a, -um, adj. *excellent, distinguished.*
**ēiusmŏdi**, *of that kind, such.*
**ēlăbōro**, 1, v. a. *to take pains with, work out.*
**ēmergo**, -si, -sum, 3, v. n. *to come forth.*
**ĕnim**, conj. *for.*
**ĕquĕs**, -ĭtis, m. *horse-soldier; knight.*
**ĕquĭtātus**, -ūs, m. *cavalry.*
**ērĭgo**, -rexi, -rectum, 3, v. a. *to raise up.*

**ēripĭo**, -ripui, -reptum, 3, v. a. *to snatch, take away.*
**ērŭdĭo**, -īvi or -ĭi, -ītum, 4, v. a. *to educate, train.*
**ēscendo**, -di, -sum, 3, v. n. *to mount, ascend.*
**ĕt**, conj. *and, even, also, both.*
**ĕtĕnim**, conj. *for, and indeed.*
**ĕtĭam**, conj. and adv. *also, even*; **etiam atque etiam** *again and again.*
**excello**, -cellui, -celsum, 3, v. a. and n. *to excel.*
**excĭpĭo**, -cēpi, -ceptum, 3, v. a. *to receive.*
**excĭto**, 1, v. a. *to rouse, stir up.*
**excrŭcio**, 1, v. a. *to torture.*
**excursĭo**, -ōnis, f. *a raid, inroad.*
**exemplum**, -i, n. *example.*
**exerceo**, -ŭi, -ĭtum, 2, v. a. *to employ, farm (of taxes).*
**exercĭtātĭo**, -ōnis, f. *practice.*
**exercĭtātus**, -a, -um, perf. pass. part. *trained, practised.*
**exercĭtus**, -ūs, m. *an army.*
**exĭgo**, -ēgi, -actum, 3, v. a. *to collect, get in.*
**exĭmĭus**, -a, -um, adj. *excellent.*
**existĭmo**, 1, v. a. *to consider, think.*
**exĭtus**, -ūs, m. *an end, close.*
**exorsus**, -ūs, m. *a beginning*, see note § 11.
**expello**, -pŭli, -pulsum, 3, v. a. *to drive out.*
**expers**, -pertis, adj. *without a share in, deprived of.*
**expĕto**, -īvi or -ĭi, -ītum, 3, v. a. *to long for, seek after.*
**expīlo**, 1, v. a. *to pillage, rob.*
**explĭco**, 1, v. a. *to free, extricate.*
**explōro**, 1, v. a. *to reconnoitre.*
**exporto**, 1, v. a. *to export.*
**expugnātĭo**, -ōnis, f. *the carrying of a place by storm.*
**exquīro**, -sīvi, -sītum, 3, v. a. *to seek out.*
**exsisto**, -stĭti, -stĭtum, 3, v. n. *to be visible* or *manifest, to exist, to be.*
**exspectātĭo**, -ōnis, f. *expectation*; (**eius**) *of his coming.*
**exspecto**, 1, v. a. *to look for, expect.*
**exstinguo**, -nxi, -nctum, 3, v. a. *to extinguish, destroy.*
**extĕrus**, -a, -um, adj. *foreign.*
**extrēmus**, -a, -um, adj. superl. of exterus, *last, latest*; **extrēmum**, -i, n. *the end.*
**exūro**, -ussi, -ustum, 3, v. a. *to burn up.*
**exŭvĭae**, -ārum, f. *spoils, trophies.*

**făcĭlis**, -e, adj. *easy*; **facile**, adv. *easily.*
**făcĭlĭtās**, -ātis, f. *accessibility, affability.*
**făcio**, -ĕre, fēci, factum, 3, v. a. *to do, to make.*
**făcultās**, -ātis, f. *opportunity, possibility.*
**falsus**, -a, -um, adj. part. of **fallo**; *false*, adv. **falsō**.
**fāma**, -ae, f. *reputation, renown.*
**fămĭlĭa**, -ae, f. *household, slaves of a household.*
**fānum**, -i, n. *shrine, sanctuary.*
**fătĕor**, -ēri, fassus sum, 2, dep. v. a. *to confess, to acknowledge.*
**fēlĭcĭtās**, -ātis, f. *good fortune, luckiness.*
**fĕrĕ**, adv. *almost, usually.*
**fĕro**, ferre, tŭli, lātum, irreg. v. a. *to bear*; used intransitively in § 70, see note.
**fertĭlis**, -e, adj. *fruitful, fertile.*
**fĭdes**, -ei, f. *honesty, credit.*
**fĭnĭtĭmus**, -a, -um, adj. *neighbouring, bordering on*; as noun *neighbour.*
**fĭo**, fĭĕri, factus sum, semi-dep. v. n. *to become, be made.*
**firmāmentum**, -i, n. *strength, support, foundation.*
**firmus**, -a, -um, adj. *firm, strong.*
**fōrensis**, -e, adj. *of* or *belonging to the forum*; **usus forensis** *practice at the bar.*
**formīdo**, -ĭnis, f. *fear, terror.*
**formīdŏlōsus**, -a, -um, adj. *full of fear, terrible.*
**fortasse**, adv. *perhaps, possibly.*

**fortĕ**, adv. *by chance.*
**fortis**, -e, adj. *brave, gallant, strong.*
**fortĭtūdo**, -ĭnis, f. *courage.*
**fortūna**, -ae, f. *fortune*; pl. **fortunae**, *property, possessions, fortune.*
**fōrum**, -i, n. *forum, law-court.*
**frāter**, -tris, m. *brother.*
**frĕquens**, -ntis, adj. *crowded.*
**frētus**, -a, -um, adj. *relying on.*
**fructus**, -ūs, m. *enjoyment, fruit, profit, reward*; **fructui esse** *to be a source of profit.*
**frūmentārius**, -a, -um, adj. *belonging to corn, corn.*
**frŭor**, frui, fructus sum, dep. v. n. *to enjoy.*
**fŭga**, -ae, f. *flight.*
**fŭgĭo**, fūgi, -ĭtum, 3, v. a. *to flee, escape.*

**gaudeo**, -ēre, gavīsus sum, semidep. 2, v. n. *to rejoice.*
**gāza**, -ae, f. *treasure.*
**gens**, -ntis, f. *race, nation.*
**gĕnus**, -ĕris, n. *kind, sort.*
**gĕro**, gessi, gestum, 3, v. a. *to carry on, wage, perform.*
**glōrĭa**, -ae, f. *glory, fame.*
**gnāvus**, -a, -um, adj. *active, diligent.*
**grădus**, -ūs, m. *rank.*
**grātĭa**, -ae, f. *favour, influence.*
**grăvis**, -e, adj. *heavy, serious.*
**grăvĭtās**, -ātis, f. *weight, dignity.*
**grăvĭter**, adv. *with weight.*
**grăvor**, -āri, -ātus, 1, dep. v. n. and a. *to bear with reluctance, to do unwillingly.*
**gŭberno**, 1, v. a. *to steer* or *pilot a ship.*

**hăbeo**, -ŭi, -ĭtum, 2, v. a. *to have, involve*; **rationem habēre** *to have a care for.*
**hercŭle**, interj. *by Hercules.*
**hĭberna**, -ōrum, n. *winter-quarters.*
**hĭberno**, 1, v. n. *to be in winter-quarters.*
**hīc, haec, hōc**, dem. pron. *this*; **hoc măgis** *the more*; **hīcce**, strengthened form of **hīc**; **per hosce annos** *during recent years.*
**hīc**, adv. *here, at this point.*
**hiems**, hĭēmis, f. *winter.*
**hŏdiē**, adv. *to-day.*
**hŏmo**, -ĭnis, c. *human being, man.*
**hŏnestus**, -a, -um, adj. *honourable.*
**hŏnor**, -ōris, m. *honour, office, distinction.*
**hortor**, -āri, -ātus, 1, dep. v. a. *to urge, exhort.*
**hostīlis**, -e, adj. *hostile.*
**hostis**, -is, c. *enemy.*
**hūc**, adv. *hither.*
**hūmānĭtās**, -ātis, f. *kindness, humanity.*

**ĭbĭ**, adv. *there.*
**īdem**, ĕădem, ĭdem, pron. *the same.*
**ĭdōnĕus**, -a, -um, adj. *fit, suitable.*
**ĭgĭtur**, conj. *therefore.*
**ignōmĭnia**, -ae, f. *disgrace, ignominy.*
**ignōro**, 1, v. a. *to be ignorant of.*
**ille**, illa, illud, dem. pron. *that*; as pers. pron. *he, she, it.*
**immineo**, -ēre, 2, v. n. *to hang over, threaten.*
**immĭnŭo**, -ŭi, -ūtum, 2, v. a. *to lessen, impair.*
**immortālis**, -e, adj. *immortal.*
**impĕdio**, -īvi or -ĭi, -ītum, 4, v. a. *to hinder.*
**impĕrātor**, -ōris, m. *commander, general.*
**impĕrātōrius**, -a, -um, adj. *belonging to a general.*
**impĕrĭum**, -ii, n. *military command, power, empire.*
**impĕro**, 1, v. a. and n. *to command.*
**impertĭo**, -īvi or -ĭi, -ītum, 4, v. a. *to share with another, to bestow.*
**impĕtro**, 1, v. a. *to obtain, get what you ask for.*
**impĕtus**, -ūs, m. *onset, attack.*
**implĭco**, 1, v. a. *to implicate, involve.*

**improbo**, 1, v. a. *to disapprove, reject.*
**impudens**, -entis, adj. *shameless.*
**in**, prep. with acc. *into, against, for, tending to*; with abl. *in, in the case of.*
**inaudītus**, -a, -um, adj. *unheard of.*
**incipio**, -cēpi, -ceptum, 3, v. a. and n. *to begin.*
**incŏlūmis**, -e, adj. *safe, unharmed.*
**incommŏdum**, -i, n. *reverse, disaster, disadvantage.*
**incrēdĭbĭlis**, -e, adj. *incredible.*
**incumbo**, -cŭbŭi, -cŭbĭtum, 3, v. n. with in, ad, *to apply oneself to.*
**indĕ**, adv. *thence, then.*
**indigne**, adv. *more unworthily.*
**industrĭa**, -ae, f. *activity, energy.*
**industrĭus**, -a, -um, adj. *active, diligent.*
**ĭnĕo**, -īvi or -ĭi, -ĭtum, irreg. v. a. *to begin, to enter upon.*
**infĕro**, -tŭli, illātum, irreg. v. a. *to bring against.*
**infimus**, -a, -um, adj. superl. of **infĕrus**, *lowest, humblest.*
**inflammo**, 1, v. a. *to set on fire, kindle, rouse.*
**ingĕnium**, -ii, n. *nature, talents, intellect.*
**ingrātus**, -a, -um, adj. *ungrateful.*
**inĭcio**, -iēci, -iectum, 3, v. a. *to throw in, cause, inspire.*
**inĭmĭcus**, -i, m. (personal) *enemy, foe.*
**initĭum**, -ii, n. *a beginning.*
**iniūrĭa**, -ae, f. *wrong, injustice.*
**iniūrĭōsius**, adv. comp. *somewhat unjustly.*
**innŏcens**, -ntis, adj. *blameless, upright.*
**innŏcentia**, -ae, f. *integrity, uprightness.*
**innumerābilis**, -e, adj. *countless.*
**inŏpia**, -ae, f. *scarcity, dearth.*
**inquam**, -is, -it, def. v. *I say.*
**insĭdeo**, -sēdi, -sessum, 2, v. n. *to settle, sink in.*
**insignĭa**, -ium, n. pl. of **insignĕ**, *the outward signs, badges.*
**insŏlĭtus**, -a, -um, adj. *unusual, unwonted.*
**inspecto**, 1, v. a. *to look on.*
**instĭtŭo**, -ŭi, -ūtum, 3, v. a. *to begin.*
**instĭtūtum**, -i, n. *custom, practice.*
**instrŭo**, -struxi, -structum, 3, v. a. *to equip, provide with.*
**insŭla**, -ae, f. *an island.*
**insum**, -fui, -esse, irreg. v. n. *to be in, to belong to.*
**intĕger**, -ra, -rum, adj. *fresh, untouched*, adv. **intĕgrē**, *honourably.*
**integrĭtās**, -ātis, f. *uprightness, integrity.*
**intellĕgo**, -lexi, -lectum, 3, v. a. *to perceive, to understand.*
**intercessio**, -ōnis, f. *veto of a tribune.*
**interfĭcio**, -fēci, -fectum, 3, v. a. *to kill, slay.*
**intĕrior**, -ius, -iōris, adj. comp. *inner, inland.*
**internĭcio**, -ōnis, f. *slaughter, utter destruction.*
**intrā**, prep. with acc. *within.*
**intŭĕor**, -ēri, -tŭĭtus, 2, v. dep. *to look at.*
**inultus**, -a, -um, adj. *unavenged.*
**inūsĭtātus**, -a, -um, adj. *unusual.*
**inūtĭlis**, -e, adj. *useless.*
**invĕnio**, -vēni, -ventum, 4, v. a. *to find, devise, discover.*
**invĕtĕrasco**, -rāvi, 3, v. n. *to grow old.*
**invictus**, -a, -um, adj. *unconquered.*
**invīsus**, -a, -um, adj. (part of invĭdeo) *hateful, displeasing.*
**invītus**, -a, -um, adj. *unwilling.*
**ipse**, -a, -um, dem. pron. *self, mere.*
**īrascor**, īrasci, īrātus, 3, v. dep. *to be angry.*
**irruptio**, -ōnis, f. *invasion.*
**is**, ea, id, dem. pron. *that, he.*
**istĕ**, -a, -ud, dem. pron. *that of yours, such a* (with note of contempt).
**ĭtă**, adv. *in such a way, so, thus.*
**ĭtăque**, adv. *and so, accordingly.*

**ĭtem**, adv. *in like manner.*
**ĭter**, itinĕris, n. *journey, way*; in § 38 it means *progress.*
**ĭtĕrum**, adv. *again.*

**iactūra**, -ae, f. *loss.*
**iām**, adv. *by this time, now, already.*
**iām vēro**, *moreover.*
**iūcundus**, -a, -um, adj. *pleasant, delightful.*
**iūdex**, -dĭcis, m. *a judge.*
**iūdĭcium**, -ii or -i, n. *judgment.*
**iūdĭco**, ı, v. a. *to judge, consider, decide.*
**iūs**, iūris, n. *right, justice, law*; **iūre** *rightly*; **sŭo iūre** *with perfect right.*
**iussū**, abl. of obsolete noun, *at the bidding of.*
**iŭvo**, iūvi, iūtum, ı, v. a. *to help, please.*

**lăbĕfăcio**, -fēci, -factum, 3, v. a. *to cause to totter, to shake, ruin.*
**lābes**, -is, f. *a blot, stain.*
**lăbor**, -ōris, m. *work, toil.*
**labōriōsus**, -a, -um, adj. *laborious, toilsome.*
**labōro**, ı, v. a. *to labour, take pains.*
**lăcesso**, -īvi, -ītum, 3, v. a. *to provoke.*
**laetitia**, -ae, f. *joy, gladness.*
**laetor**, -āri, -ātus, ı, v. dep. *to rejoice.*
**lătebrae**, -ārum, f. pl. *a hiding-place, retreat.*
**lăteo**, -ŭi, 2, v. n. *to lie hid* or *concealed.*
**lātus**, -a, -um, adj. *broad, widely extended*; **lātē**, adv. with **longē** *far and wide.*
**laus**, laudis, f. *praise, glory, fame.*
**lēgātio**, -ōnis, f. *an embassy.*
**lēgātus**, -i, m. *an ambassador, envoy*; *a deputy* (official assistant given to a general or governor of a province).
**lĕgio**, -ōnis, f. *a legion.*
**lĕgo**, ı, v. a. *to appoint as deputy.*
**lĕgo**, lēgi, lectum, 3, v. a. *to read.*
**lex**, lēgis, f. *law.*
**lĭbenter**, adv. *gladly.*
**lĭber**, -ĕra, -ĕrum, adj. *free*; adv. **lĭbĕrē.**
**lĭbĕri**, -ōrum, m. pl. *children.*
**lĭbĕro**, ı, v. a. *to free, deliver from.*
**lĭbertās**, -ātis, f. *freedom.*
**lĭbīdo**, -ĭnis, f. *lust*, pl. *acts of lust.*
**lĭcet**, -uit and -ĭtum est, 2, v. impers. *it is allowed, lawful.*
**lĭttĕrae**, -ārum, f. pl. *a letter, dispatch.*
**lŏcŭplēs**, -ētis, adj. *rich, wealthy.*
**locuplēto**, ı, v. a. *to make rich.*
**lŏcus**, -i, m. *place*; pl. **lŏci** and **lŏcă.**
**longinquĭtās**, -ātis, f. *distance, remoteness.*
**longinquus**, -a, -um, adj. *distant, remote.*
**longus**, -a, -um, adj. *far, distant*; adv. **longē.**
**lŏquor**, lŏqui, lŏcūtus, 3, dep. v. a. and n. *to speak, to say.*
**lūdus**, -i, m. *school.*
**lūmen**, -ĭnis, n. *light, eye.*
**lux**, lūcis, f. *light, light of day.*

**măcŭla**, -ae, f. *spot, stain.*
**maeror**, -ōris, m. *grief.*
**măgis**, adv. *more, rather*; superl. **maxĭme** *in the highest degree, especially.*
**măgistrātus**, -ūs, m. *office of magistrate* or *a magistrate.*
**magnĭtūdo**, -ĭnis, f. *greatness, extent.*
**magnus**, -a, -um, adj. *great, important, serious*; comp. **māior**, superl. **maxĭmus.**
**māiōrēs**, -um, m. pl. *ancestors, forefathers.*
**mālo**, malle, mālŭi, irreg. v. a. *to prefer.*
**mălum**, -i, n. *evil, misfortune.*
**mando**, ı, v. a. *to entrust, confer upon.*
**măneo**, mansi, mansum, 2, v. n. *to remain*; **manēre in sententiā** *to stand by one's opinion.*

**mansuētūdo**, -ĭnis, f. *gentleness, clemency.*
**mănus**, -ūs, f. *hand*; *band of troops*; *act of violence.*
**mărĕ**, măris, n. *sea.*
**mărītĭmus**, -a, -um, adj. *maritime, naval.*
**mātūrus**, -a, -um, adj. *ripe, early, speedy.*
**maxĭmus**, -a, -um, adj., see **magnus.**
**mĕdĕor**, -ēri, 2, v. dep. *to heal, remedy.*
**mĕdĭus**, -a, -um, adj. *middle, mid.*
**membrum**, -i, n. *a limb.*
**mĕmĭni**, -isse (only perf. tenses), defect. v. *to remember.*
**mĕmŏrĭa**, -ae, f. *memory.*
**mens**, -ntis, f. *mind.*
**mercātor**, -ōris, m. *merchant.*
**merx**, -cis, f. *merchandise.*
**mĕtuo**, -ui, -ūtum, 3, v. a. *to fear.*
**mĕtus**, -ūs, m. *fear.*
**mĕus**, -a, -um, poss. adj. *my*: pron. *mine.*
**mĭhi**, see **ego.**
**mīles**, -ĭtis, m. *soldier.*
**mīlia**, -ium, -ibus, pl. of **mille**, *thousands.*
**mīlitāris**, -e, adj. *military*; **res militaris** *the art* or *business of war.*
**mīlitia**, -ae, f. *military service*; **militiae** locative, *in the field.*
**mĭnae**, -ārum, f. pl. *threats, menaces.*
**mĭnĭtor**, 1, v. dep. freq. *to threaten.*
**mĭnor**, 1, v. dep. *to threaten.*
**mĭnus**, adv. *less.*
**mīror**, 1, v. dep. *admire, wonder at.*
**misceo**, miscŭi, mixtum, 2, v. a. *to mix, blend.*
**mĭsĕrĭa**, -ae, f. *wretchedness.*
**mĭsĕrĭcordia**, -ae, f. *pity.*
**mitto**, mīsi, missum, 3, v. a. *to send.*
**mŏdĕrātio**, -ōnis, f. *restraint.*
**moderātus**, perf. part. of **modero**, as adj. *restrained.*
**mŏdŏ**, adv. *only.*
**mŏdus**, -i, m. *limit, way, manner.*
**mŏlestus**, -a, -um, adj. *annoying, troublesome.*
**mors**, mortis, f. *death.*
**mōtus**, -ūs, m. *motion, disturbance.*
**multĭtūdo**, -ĭnis, f. *great number, multitude.*
**multus**, -a, -um, adj. *much*, pl. *many*, adv. **multō**, *far*, *by far*, and **multum**, *much.*
**mūnio**, -īvi or -ĭi, -ītum, 4, v. a. *to fortify, strengthen.*
**mūnus**, -ĕris, n. *function, service.*
**mūrus**, -i, m. *a wall.*

**nam**, conj. *for.*
**nascor**, nasci, nātus, 3, v. dep. *to be born.*
**nātĭo**, -ōnis, f. *a tribe, people, race.*
**nautĭcus**, -a, -um, adj. *nautical, naval.*
**nāvālis**, -e, adj. *naval.*
**nāviculārius**, -ii, m. *a ship-owner.*
**nāvigātio**, -ōnis, f. *voyage, sailing.*
**nāvĭgo**, 1, v. a. *to sail.*
**nāvis**, -is, f. *a ship.*
**nē**, conj. *lest, that not*, in prohibitions, *not*; **nēvĕ** *nor*; **nē...quĭdem** *not even, nor again.*
**-nĕ**, enclitic, mark of interrogation, *whether.*
**nĕc** or **nĕque**, conj. *neither, nor, and not.*
**nĕcessārius**, -a, -um, adj. *necessary, pressing.*
**nĕcessĭtūdo**, -ĭnis, f. *close tie, bond of intimacy.*
**nĕco**, 1, v. a. *to kill.*
**neglĕgo**, -exi, -ectum, 3, v. a. *to neglect, to disregard.*
**nĕgōtior**, 1, v. dep. *to carry on business, trade.*
**nĕgōtium**, -ii, n. *business, affairs.*
**nēmo**, nullius, abl. nullo, c. *nobody, no one.*
**nervus**, -i, m. *sinew.*
**nĭhil**, n. indecl. *nothing.*
**nĭmis**, adv. *too, too much.*

**nĭmĭus**, -a, -um, adj. *too much, excessive.*
**nĭsĭ**, conj. *if not, unless.*
**nōbĭlis**, -e, adj. *famous.*
**nōbĭlĭtās**, -ātis, f. *fame, renown.*
**nŏceo**, -ui, -ĭtum, 2, v. n. *to do harm to.*
**nōlo**, nolle, nōlui, v. irreg. *to be unwilling*; used in prohibitions, **nolīte dubitāre**, *do not hesitate.*
**nōmen**, -ĭnis, n. *name, pretence.*
**nōmĭno**, 1, v. a. *to name, mention.*
**nōn**, adv. *not*; **non mŏdŏ** *not only.*
**nōnnĕ**, interrog. adv. *is it not?*
**nondum**, adv. *not yet.*
**nos**, pl. of **ego**, *we*; often = **ego.**
**nosco**, 3, v. a. *to come to know*; **nōvi**, perf. *I know.*
**noster**, -tra, -trum, poss. pron. *our.*
**nŏvus**, -a, -um, adj. *new, strange.*
**nullus**, -a, -um, adj. *not any, none.*
**num**, interrog. adv. expecting negative answer, *it is not, is it?*
**nŭmĕrus**, -i, m. *number*; **ullo in numero** *of any account.*
**numquam**, adv. *never.*
**nunc**, adv. *now*; *as it is.*
**nuntius**, -ii, m. *a messenger, news.*
**nūper**, adv. *lately.*

**ŏbeo**, -īre, -īvi or -ĭi, -ĭtum, irreg. v. n. *to transact, accomplish.*
**oblīvio**, -ōnis, f. *forgetfulness.*
**oboedio**, -īvi or -ĭi, -ītum, 4, v. n. *to obey.*
**obscūrus**, -a, -um, adj. *hidden, disguised.*
**obsĕcundo**, 1, v. n. *to comply with, obey.*
**obses**, -ĭdis, c. *a hostage.*
**obsĭdeo**, -ēdi, -essum, 2, v. a. *to besiege.*
**obsĭdio**, -ōnis, f. *siege, blockade.*
**obsŏlesco**, -lēvi, -lētum, 3, v. n. *to grow out of date.*
**obtempĕro**, 1, v. n. *to comply with, submit to.*
**obtrecto**, 1, v. a. and n. *to carp at, oppose.*
**occāsio**, -ōnis, f. *opportunity.*
**occulto**, 1, v. a. *to hide, conceal.*
**occŭpo**, 1, v. a. *to seize, take possession of.*
**ocŭlus**, -i, m. *eye.*
**ŏdi**, ŏdisse (only perf. tenses), def. v. a. *to hate.*
**ŏdium**, -ii, n. *hatred.*
**offensio**, -ōnis, f. *reverse, check.*
**offĕro**, obtŭli, oblātum, v. irreg. *to offer, present.*
**ōmitto**, -mīsi, -missum, 3, v. a. *to pass over, neglect.*
**omnis**, -e, adj. *all, every.*
**ŏnus**, -ĕris, n. *load, burden.*
**ŏpem**, ŏpis (no nom. sing.), f. *aid, help*; pl. **ŏpes**, *power, wealth.*
**ŏpīmus**, -a, -um, adj. *rich, fertile, fruitful.*
**ŏpīnio**, -ōnis, f. *belief, fancy.*
**ŏpīnor**, 1, v. dep. *to suppose, think.*
**ŏportet**, -ēre, -uit, impers. v. *it behoves, one ought.*
**oppĭdum**, -i, n. *town.*
**opportūnitās**, -ātis, f. *convenience, fortunate circumstance.*
**opprĭmo**, -pressi, -pressum, 3, v. a. *to crush, to overwhelm.*
**oppugno**, 1, v. a. *to attack.*
**optĭmus**, -a, -um, adj. *best, excellent*; adv. **optimē.**
**opto**, 1, v. a. *to desire, pray for.*
**ōra**, -ae, f. *border, region.*
**ōrātio**, -ōnis, f. *speaking, speech.*
**orbis terrae**, or **terrārum**, *the world.*
**ordo**, -ĭnis, m. *order, rank, class.*
**ornāmentum**, -i, n. *adornment, distinction.*
**ornātus**, -a, -um, adj. *adorned, furnished, distinguished*; **ornātē**, adv. *with brilliance.*
**orno**, 1, v. a. *to equip.*
**ostendo**, -di, -sum and -tum, 3, v. a. *to show.*
**ostium**, -ii, n. *entrance, gate.*

**pāco**, 1, v. a. *to make peaceful*; **pācātus** *peaceful, undisturbed.*
**pār**, păris, adj. *equal, adequate to.*

**părātus**, -a, um, adj. *ready, prepared.*
**părens**, -entis, c. *parent.*
**pāreo**, -ui, -ĭtum, 2, v. n. *to obey, bow to.*
**păro**, 1, v. a. *to prepare.*
**pars**, partis, f. *part, side, quarter*; **aliqua ex parte** *to some extent.*
**partim**, adv. *partly.*
**părum**, adv. *too little.*
**parvus**, -a, -um, adj. *little, small*; **parvi rĕfert** *it matters little.*
**pastio**, -ōnis, f. *pasturing, pasture.*
**pătĕfăcio**, -fēci, -factum, 3, v. a. *to throw open.*
**păteo**, -ui, 2, v. n. *to lie open.*
**păter**, -tris, m. *father*; pl. *forefathers.*
**pătĭor**, păti, passus, 3, v. dep. *to suffer, allow.*
**patrius**, -a, -um, adj. *paternal, hereditary.*
**paucus**, -a, -um, adj. *few.*
**paulo**, adv. abl. of paulum, *by a little, a little.*
**pax**, pācis, f. *peace.*
**pecuāria**, -ae (supply res), f. *the business of cattle-farming.*
**pecūnia**, -ae, f. *money*, pl. *funds.*
**pello**, pĕpŭli, pulsum, 3, v. a. *to drive out, beat.*
**pĕnĭtus**, adv. *deeply.*
**pensito**, 1, v. a. *to pay.*
**per**, prep. with acc. *through, by means of*; **per aetatem** *owing to age*; **ipsorum per se** *for their own sakes*; **per deos** *in the name of the gods.*
**perădŭlescens**, -ntis, adj. *very young.*
**perbrĕvis**, -e, adj. *very short.*
**perdo**, -dĭdi, -dĭtum, 3, v. a. *to ruin, to lose.*
**perfĕro**, -ferre, -tŭli, -lātum, irreg. v. a. *to convey*; *to endure.*
**perfĭcĭo**, -fēci, -fectum, 3, v. a. *to perform, finish, perfect.*
**perfŭgĭum**, -ii, n. *a shelter from* or *for.*
**perĭculōsus**, -a, -um, adj. *dangerous.*
**perĭculum**, -i, n. *danger, risk.*
**pĕrīnĭquus**, -a, -um, adj. *very unfair.*
**pĕrītus**, -a, -um, adj. *experienced.*
**permagnus**, -a, -um, adj. *very great.*
**permăneo**, -mansi, -mansum, 2, v. n. *to continue, remain always.*
**permitto**, -mīsi, -missum, 3, v. a. *to entrust, allow.*
**permultus**, -a, um, adj. *very much, very many.*
**perpĕtŭus**, -a, -um, adj. *unbroken, continuous.*
**persĕquor**, -sĕqui, -sĕcūtus, 3, v. dep. *to follow up, continue*; *to punish, avenge.*
**persĕvĕrantia**, -ae, f. *steadfastness.*
**perspĭcĭo**, -spexi, -spectum, 3, v. a. *to look closely at, see clearly.*
**pertĭmesco**, -ĕre, -ui, 3, v. a. *to fear greatly.*
**pertĭneo**, -ui, -tentum, 2, v. n. *to pertain to, concern.*
**pervādo**, -si, -sum, 3, v. a. and n. *to spread through, reach to, spread.*
**pervĕnio**, -vēni, -ventum, 4, v. n. *to arrive, come to.*
**plebs**, plēbis, or plēbi (from plēbes), f. *the people, commons.*
**plēnus**, -a, -um, adj. *full.*
**plūs**, plūris, n. in sing. *more*; pl. **plūres, plūra**, *more*; **plurimus**, -a, -um, superl. adj. *most, very many.*
**poena**, -ae, f. *penalty, punishment.*
**pollĭceor**, -ēri, -ĭtus, 2, v. dep. *to promise.*
**pōno**, pŏsui, pŏsĭtum, 3, v. a. *to place.*
**pŏpŭlus**, -i, m. *people.*
**portus**, -ūs, m. *a harbour, port.*
**possum**, posse, pŏtui, irreg. v. n. *to be able.*
**post**, prep. with acc. *after*; **post hominum memoriam** *within the memory of man.*

**postĕā**, adv. *afterwards.*
**postĕāquam**, conj. *after that, when.*
**postrēmo**, superl. adv. *finally, lastly.*
**postŭlo**, 1, v. a. *to demand.*
**pŏtens**, -entis, adj. *powerful.*
**pŏtestās**, -ātis, f. *power, authority.*
**pŏtissimum**, superl. adv. (from **pŏtis**), *especially, by preference.*
**praeceptum**, -i, n. *teaching, injunction.*
**praecīpŭus**, -a, um, adj. *special.*
**praeclārus**, -a, -um, adj. *famous, splendid.*
**praeda**, -ae, f. *booty, spoil.*
**praedīco**, 1, v. a. *to proclaim, assert.*
**praedītus**, -a, -um, adj. *endowed, furnished.*
**praedo**, -ōnis, m. *a robber, pirate.*
**praefĕro**, -ferre, -tŭli, -lātum, irreg. v. a. *to set before, prefer.*
**praefĭcĭo**, -fēci, -fectum, 3, v. a. *to appoint to the command of.*
**praepōno**, -pŏsŭi, -pŏsĭtum, 3, v. a. in same sense as **praeficio**.
**praescrībo**, -scripsi, -scriptum, 3, v. a. *to order, prescribe.*
**praesens**, -entis, adj. *present, on the spot.*
**praesertim**, adv. *especially*; **cum praesertim** *especially as.*
**praesĭdeo**, -sēdi, 2, v. n. *to preside over, protect.*
**praesĭdium**, -ii, n. *protection; guard, garrison.*
**praesto**, -stĭti, -stĭtum, 1, v. a. and n. *to vouch for, guarantee.*
**praesum**, -esse, -fui, irreg. v. n. *to be at the head of, to command.*
**praeter**, prep. with acc. *beyond, more than, besides.*
**praeterĕā**, adv. *besides.*
**praetereo**, -īre, -ĭi, -ĭtum, irreg. v. a. *to pass by, omit.* **praeterīta**, -ōrum, n. *the past.*
**praetor**, -ōris, m. *praetor.*
**praetōrius**, -a, -um, adj. *belonging to a praetor.*
**prĕmo**, pressi, pressum, 3, v. a. *to press, weigh down, crush.*
**prīmus**, -a, -um, superl. adj. *first*; **prīmum**, adv.
**princeps**, -cĭpis, m. *a chief man, leader.*
**principĭum**, -ii, n. *a beginning.*
**prīvātus**, -a, -um, adj. *private, belonging to an individual*; **prīvātus**, -i, m. *a man in private life, a citizen.*
**prō**, prep. with abl. *in front of, in behalf of, instead of* (**pro consule**), *on the strength of* (**pro necessitūdine**), *conformably to* (**pro vestrā sapientiā**).
**prō**, interj. *O! alas!*
**prŏcul**, adv. *far off.*
**prōdo**, -dĭdi, -dĭtum, 3, v. a. *to hand down, transmit.*
**proelĭum**, -ii, n. *battle.*
**prŏfecto**, adv. *assuredly.*
**prōfĭciscor**, -i, -fectus, 3, dep. v. n. *to set out*; for special use see note on § 63, l. 14.
**prōfĭteor**, -ēri, -essus, 2, dep. v. a. *to declare publicly.*
**prŏfŭgio**, -fūgi, 3, v. n. *to flee, take to flight.*
**prōgressio**, -ōnis, f. *advance.*
**prōhĭbeo**, -ŭi, -ĭtum, 2, v. a. *to prevent, shield from, exclude.*
**prōmulgo**, 1, v. a. *to bring forward, publish.*
**prŏpe**, adv. *near*; *nearly, almost.*
**prōpōno**, -pŏsui, -pŏsĭtum, 3, v. a. *put forward, set before.*
**prŏprĭus**, -a, -um, adj. *one's own, characteristic of, peculiar to.*
**propter**, prep. with acc. *on account of*; as adv. *near, at hand.*
**propterĕā**, adv. *therefore*; with **quod**, *because.*
**prōpugnācŭlum**, -i, n. *rampart, outwork.*
**prōsterno**, -strāvi, -strātum, 3, v. a. *to lay low, overthrow.*
**prōvĭdeo**, -vīdi, -vīsum, 2, v. a. and n. *to prepare* or *provide for*; *to be provident, cautious.*

**prōvincia**, -ae, f. *a province*; *a charge, command.*
**provŏco**, 1, v. a. *to challenge, incite, provoke.*
**proximus**, -a, -um, superl. adj. *next, nearest.*
**prūdentia**, -ae, f. *wisdom, judgment.*
**publicānus**, -i, m. *a farmer-general of the Roman revenues, tax collector.*
**publicus**, -a, -um, adj. *public, common.*
**pŭdet**, -ŭit, impers. v. 2, *it causes shame to*; **me pudet** *I am ashamed.*
**pŭdor**, -ōris, m. *shame, sense of decency.*
**puerĭtia**, -ae, f. *boyhood.*
**pugno**, 1, v. a. *to fight.*
**pulcher**, -chra, -chrum, adj. *beautiful, glorious.*
**pŭto**, 1, v. a. *to think, to deem.*

**quā**, adv. *where.*
**quaero**, quaesīvi, quaesītum, 3, v. a. *to seek, ask.*
**quaestor**, -ōris, m. *a quaestor.*
**quaestus**, -ūs, m. *gain, profit*; **in quaestū** *of money, invested.*
**quālis**, -e, adj. *of what sort? such as, as.*
**quam**, adv. *how, as, than*; with superl. adj. *very.*
**quamquam**, conj. *although, and yet.*
**quantus**, -a, -um, adj. *how great? as great as.*
**quārē**, adv. *wherefore, why.*
**quāsī**, adv. *as if*; **q. vero** *as though forsooth.*
**quattuor**, num. adj. *four.*
**quem ad modum**, adv. *in what manner, how.*
**quĕrīmōnia**, -ae, f. *complaint.*
**quĕror**, quĕri, questus, 3, v. dep. *to complain.*
**qui**, quae, quod, rel. pron. *who.*
**quicumque**, quaecumque, quodcumque, rel. pron. *whoever.*
**quidam**, quaedam, quoddam, indef. pron. *a certain one, somebody.*
**quĭdem**, adv. *indeed, at least.*
**quĭes**, -ētis, f. *rest, repose.*
**quĭn**, conj. *indeed, but that.*
**Quĭrītes**, -ium, m. pl. *Romans* (in civil capacity).
**quis**, quid, interrog. pron. *who? what?* **quid**, *why?* in transition, *again.*
**quis**, quă, quid, indef. pron. *anyone, any.*
**quisnam**, a strengthened form of **quis**, *who?*
**quisquam**, quaequam, quicquam or quidquam, indef. pron. *anyone*, in negative clauses.
**quisque**, quaeque, quidque, indef. pron. *each, every.*
**quo**, adv. *whither, by which* (with comparative), *wherefore.*
**quocumque**, adv. *to whatever place.*
**quod**, conj. *because*; **quod si** *but if.*
**quo mĭnus**, conj. *that not, from*, after vbs of hindering.
**quondam**, adv. *formerly.*
**quŏnĭam**, conj. *since.*
**quŏque**, conj. *also, too.*
**quŏt**, indecl. adj. *how many? as many as.*
**quŏtannis**, adv. *yearly.*

**răpio**, răpui, raptum, 3, v. a. *to seize, hurry along.*
**rătio**, -ōnis, f. *reckoning, method, plan, reason*, in pl. *interests*; see note on § 1, l. 5.
**rĕcĭpio**, -cēpi, -ceptum, 3, v. a. *to receive, recover*; with **sē** *to betake oneself.*
**reclāmo**, 1, v. a. *to exclaim against, protest.*
**recordor**, 1, v. dep. *to call to mind, remember.*
**rĕcrĕo**, 1, v. a. *to remake, revive.*
**rectē**, adv. *rightly.*
**rĕcŭpĕro**, 1, v. a. *to regain, recover.*

**rĕdĭmo**, -ēmi, -emptum, 3, v. a. *to buy up, undertake by contract, to ransom.*
**rĕdĭtus**, -ūs, m. *return.*
**rĕdundo**, 1, v. n. *to overflow.*
**rĕfĕro**, -ferre, rettŭli, relātum, irreg. v. a. *to bear back*; **referre ad senātum** *to bring before the senate.*
**rĕfert**, v. n. and impers. *it is of importance, it matters.*
**rĕfertus**, -a, -um, adj. *crammed, filled full.*
**refūto**, 1, v. a. *to refute, disprove.*
**rēgālis**, -e, adj. *kingly, royal.*
**rēgĭo**, -ōnis, f. *region, district.*
**rēgĭus**, -a, -um, adj. *kingly, royal.*
**regno**, 1, v. n. *to be king, to rule, reign.*
**regnum**, -i, n. *kingdom.*
**rĕgo**, rexi, rectum, 3, v. a. *to rule, direct.*
**religiōsus**, -a, -um, adj. *holy, sacred.*
**rĕlinquo**, -līqui, -lictum, 3, v. a. *to leave, abandon.*
**rĕlĭquus**, -a, -um, adj. *left, remaining.*
**rĕmăneo**, -mansi, 2, v. n. *to stay behind, remain.*
**rēmex**, -igis, m. *a rower.*
**rĕmŏror**, 1, v. dep. n. and a. *to delay, hinder.*
**rĕnŏvo**, 1, v. a. *to renew.*
**rĕnuntio**, 1, v. a. *to declare elected.*
**rĕpello**, reppŭli, rĕpulsum, 3, v. a. *to repulse, ward off.*
**rĕpentē**, adv. *suddenly.*
**rĕporto**, 1, v. a. *to bring back, carry off* (as a victor).
**rĕpugno**, 1, v. a. *to resist, oppose.*
**rĕquīro**, -sīvi or -sĭi, -sītum, 3, v. a. *to seek* or *search for*; *to ask*; *to look in vain for, to miss.*
**rēs**, rēi, f. *a thing*, see note on § 28, l. 26; **res publica**, rei publicae, f. *commonwealth, republic*, see note on § 8, l. 27.
**respondeo**, -di, -sum, 2, v. a. and n. *to answer.*
**resto**, -stāre, -stĭti, 1, v. n. *to be left, remain.*
**rĕtardo**, 1, v. a. *to keep back, hinder, delay.*
**rĕtĭneo**, -ŭi, -tentum, 2, v. a. *to retain, keep.*
**rĕvŏco**, 1, v. a. *to call back.*
**rex**, rēgis, m. *king.*
**rōbur**, rōbŏris, n. *strength, vigour.*
**rōgātus**, -ūs, m. only used in abl.; **rogātū** *at the request of.*
**rŏgo**, 1, v. a. *to ask.*
**rūmor**, -ōris, m. *rumour, report.*
**rŭo**, -ŭi, -ŭtum, 3, v. n. *to fall down, go to ruin.*

**saepe**, adv. *often*, -ĭus, -issime.
**saltus**, -ūs, m. *a forest-pasture.*
**salūs**, -ūtis, f. *welfare, safety, deliverance.*
**salvus**, -a, -um, adj. *safe, unharmed.*
**sanctus**, -a, -um, adj. *sacred, holy.*
**sanguis**, -ĭnis, m. *blood.*
**săpiens**, -entis, adj. *wise.*
**săpĭentia**, -ae, f. *wisdom.*
**sātis**, adv. *enough.*
**scĕlus**, -ĕris, n. *crime.*
**scĭens**, -entis, adj. *having knowledge of, versed in.*
**scĭentia**, -ae, f. *knowledge.*
**scĭo**, scīvi, scītum, 4, v. a. *to know.*
**scrĭbo**, scripsi, scriptum, 3, v. a. *to write.*
**scriptūra**, -ae, f. *a tax paid on public pastures.*
**sē**, sēsē, sui, sibi, reflex. pron. *himself, themselves*; **sēcum** *by himself, with himself.*
**sĕcundus**, -a, -um, adj. *favourable, successful.*
**sĕcūris**, -is, f. *an axe.*
**sĕd**, conj. *but.*
**sēiungo**, -nxi, -nctum, 3, v. a. *to separate.*
**semper**, adv. *always.*
**sĕnātōrius**, -a, -um, adj. *senatorial.*
**sĕnātus**, -ūs, m. *the Senate.*
**sententia**, -ae, f. *opinion.*

**sentio**, sensi, sensum, 4, v. a. *to feel, perceive, think.*
**sĕpĕlio**, -pĕlīvi, -pultum, 4, v. a. *to bury.*
**sermo**, -ōnis, m. *talk, discourse.*
**servīlis**, -e, adj. *servile*; **s. bellum** *slave war.*
**servio**, -īvi or -ii, -ītum, 4, v. n. *to serve, be subject to.*
**servītūs**, -ūtis, f. *slavery.*
**sĕvērus**, -a, -um, adj. *strict, stern.*
**sī**, conj. *if.*
**sīc**, adv. *so, thus.*
**sīcut**, adv. *just as.*
**significātio**, -ōnis, f. *indication, sign.*
**signum**, -i, n. *sign, standard, statue, work of art*; **collatis signis** *in a pitched battle.*
**similĭter**, adv. *in like manner, similarly.*
**sĭmul**, adv. *at the same time.*
**sĭmŭlātio**, -ōnis, f. *pretence.*
**sĭmŭlo**, 1, v. a. *to feign, pretend.*
**simultās**, -ātis, f. *enmity.*
**sin**, conj. *but if.*
**sĭnĕ**, prep. with abl. *without.*
**singŭlāris**, -e, adj. *unique, exceptional.*
**singŭli**, -ae, -a, distrib. num. adj. *one each, separate, single.*
**sĭno**, sīvi, sītum, 3, v. a. *to allow.*
**sĭnus**, -ūs, m. *a bay, gulf.*
**sŏcius**, -ĭi, m. *comrade, partner*; *ally.*
**sŏleo**, -ēre, solĭtus sum, 2, semi-dep. v. n. *to be accustomed.*
**sōlum**, adv. *only.*
**sōlus**, -a, -um, adj. *alone.*
**sŏlūtio**, -ōnis, f. *payment.*
**solvo**, solvi, sŏlūtum, 3, v. a. *to release, set free from.*
**spĕcŭlātor**, -ōris, m. *a scout, spy.*
**spēs**, spēi, f. *hope.*
**spīrĭtus**, -ūs, m. *breath*; *pride, arrogance.*
**splendor**, -ōris, m. *radiance.*
**spŏlio**, 1, v. a. *to plunder, deprive of.*
**spŏlĭum**, -ii, n. usually in plur. *spoils.*
**stătim**, adv. *immediately.*
**stătŭo**, -ŭi, -ūtum, 3, v. a. *to decide.*
**stīpendium**, -ii, n. as military term, *pay, military service, campaign.*
**stŭdium**, -ii, n. *zeal, enthusiasm.*
**subsĭdium**, -ii, n. *support, help*; **subsidia belli** *sinews of war.*
**succēdo**, -cessi, -cessum, 3, v. n. *to take the place of, succeed.*
**suffrāgium**, -ii, n. *vote, suffrage.*
**sum**, esse, fŭi, irreg. v. n. *to be.*
**sūmo**, sumpsi, sumptum, 3, v. a. *to take.*
**sumptus**, -ūs, m. *expense, outlay.*
**superbĭus**, compar. adv. *somewhat* or *too haughtily.*
**sŭpĕro**, 1, v. a. *to overcome, defeat.*
**supplex**, -ĭcis, adj. *suppliant*, or as noun *a suppliant.*
**supplĭcium**, -ii, n. *punishment, torture.*
**suscĭpio**, -cēpi, -ceptum, 3, v. a. *to undertake, adopt, incur.*
**suus**, -a, -um, poss. pron. *his own, their own.*

**tabŭla**, -ae, f. *a picture.*
**tăcĭtus**, -a, -um, adj. *silent.*
**taeter**, -tra, -trum, adj. *foul.*
**tālis**, -e, adj. *such.*
**tam**, adv. *so, so much.*
**tămen**, adv. *nevertheless, yet, however.*
**tămetsi**, conj. *although.*
**tandem**, adv. *at length*; in emphatic questions *I ask*, or *pray*, e.g. § 11, l. 21.
**tantus**, -a, -um, adj. *so great*; **tantum**, adv. *so much, to such a degree, only.*
**tardo**, 1, v. a. *to make slow, hinder, delay.*
**tectum**, -i, n. *house, home.*
**tectus**, -a, -um, adj. perf. part. pass. of **tego**, *hidden, shielded.*
**tĕmĕrĕ**, adv. *rashly, heedlessly.*
**tempĕrantia**, -ae, f. *self-control, moderation.*
**tempestās**, -ātis, f. *storm.*

**tempestīvus**, -a, -um, adj. *seasonable, fit for sailing.*
**templum**, -i, n. *temple, consecrated spot.*
**tempto**, 1, v. a. *to agitate, disquiet.*
**tempus**, -ŏris, n. *time*; in plur. *emergencies*, perils arising from prosecutions.
**tĕneo**, -ŭi, tentum, 2, v. a. *to hold, keep, possess.*
**tĕnŭis**, -e, adj. *slight, insignificant.*
**ter**, adv. num. *three times, thrice.*
**terra**, -ae, f. *the earth*; *land.*
**terror**, -ōris, m. *alarm, scare.*
**tertius**, -a, -um, num. ord. adj. *the third.*
**testis**, -is, c. *a witness.*
**testor**, 1, v. dep. *to call to witness, to invoke.*
**tĭmeo**, -ui, 2, v. a. *to fear.*
**tĭmĭdus**, -a, -um, adj. *cowardly, timid*; adv. **tĭmĭdē.**
**tĭmor**, -ōris, m. *fear.*
**tollo**, -ĕre, sustŭli, sublātum, 3, v. a. *to raise, take away, kill, destroy.*
**tot**, indecl. num. adj. *so many.*
**tōtus**, -a, -um, adj. *whole*, with adv. force *entirely.*
**tracto**, 1, v. a. *to handle, treat.*
**trādo**, trādĭdi, trādĭtum, 3, v. a. *to hand down, hand over.*
**trăho**, traxi, tractum, 3, v. a. *to draw, drag.*
**transmārīnus**, -a, -um, adj. *beyond sea, transmarine.*
**transmitto**, -mīsi, -missum, 3, v. a. *to devote to, hand over, cross over.*
**trēs**, trĭa, num. adj. *three.*
**trĭbūnus**, -i, m. *a tribune.*
**trĭbŭo**, -ŭi, -ūtum, 3, v. a. *to bestow, render, attribute to.*
**trĭumpho**, 1, v. n. *to triumph*; **t. de Mithridate** *to t. over M.*
**trĭumphus**, -i, m. *a triumph.*
**trŭcĭdo**, 1, v. a. *to massacre, butcher.*
**tu**, tui, tibi, te, pl. vōs, pers. pron. *thou.*
**tŭeor**, tuĕrī, tūĭtus, 2, v. dep. *to protect, uphold.*
**tum**, adv. *then, at that time.*
**turpis**, -e, adj. *shameful.*
**turpĭtūdo**, -ĭnis, f. *shame, dishonour.*
**tūtor**, 1, v. dep. *to guard, protect, defend.*
**tūtus**, -a, -um, adj. *safe.*

**ūbertās**, -ātis, f. *fertility.*
**ŭbĭquĕ**, adv. *anywhere.*
**ullus**, -a, -um, adj. *any, any one.*
**ultĭmus**, -a, -um, adj. *most remote.*
**umquam**, adv. *at any time, ever.*
**ūnā**, adv. *together.*
**undĕ**, adv. *whence.*
**undēquinquāgēsimus**, -a, -um, num. adj. *the forty-ninth.*
**undique**, adv. *from* or *on all sides.*
**ūnĭversus**, -a, -um, adj. *all together, whole.*
**ūnus**, -a, -um, num. adj. *one, alone.*
**urbs**, urbis, f. *city.*
**usque**, adv. *all the way to, as far as.*
**ūsus**, -ūs, m. *practice, experience, usage.*
**ŭt**, conj. final, *that, in order that*; consecutive, *so that*; *when, as, how.*
**ŭterque**, ŭtrăque, ŭtrumque, pron. *each of two*; *either, both.*
**ūtĭlĭtās**, -ātis, f. *usefulness, advantage.*
**ūtĭnam**, interj. *oh that! would that!* followed by subjunctive.
**ūtor**, ūtī, ūsus, 3, v. dep. *to use, enjoy.*
**utrum**, adv. *whether?* introducing an alternative question, followed by **an**, *or.*

**văcŭus**, -a, -um, adj. *empty, void of.*
**văleo**, -ŭi, -ĭtum, 2, v. n. *to be strong.*
**vărĭĕtās**, -ātis, f. *variety, diversity.*
**vărĭus**, -a, -um, adj. *varying, different.*

**vectīgal**, -is, n. *tax, tribute*; plur. **vectīgālia**, *taxes, revenue.*
**vectīgālis**, -e, adj. *paying tribute, tributary.*
**vĕhĕmens**, -ntis, adj. *violent, strong.*
**vĕhĕmēnter**, adv. (superl. **vĕhĕmentissime**) *strongly, vigorously.*
**vĕl**, conj. and adv. *either, or, even.*
**vēneo**, -īvi or -ĭi, -ītum, 4, v. n. *to be sold.*
**vĕnĭa**, -ae, f. *indulgence, pardon.*
**vĕnio**, vēni, ventum, 4, v. n. *to come.*
**ventus**, -i, m. *wind.*
**vēr**, vēris, n. *the spring.*
**verber**, -ĕris, n. *a blow, scourging.*
**verbum**, -i, n. *a word.*
**vērē**, adv. *truly.*
**vēro**, adv. *in truth, indeed, but.*
**versor**, 1, v. dep. *to move, be engaged in.*
**vērum**, adv. *but, but yet.*
**vērus**, -a, -um, adj. *true.*
**vester**, -tra, -trum, poss. pron. *your.*
**vestīgĭum**, -ii, n. *track, trace.*
**vĕtus**, -ĕris, adj. *old, of long standing.*
**vĭa**, -ae, f. *way, road.*
**vīcēsimus**, -a, -um, ord. num. adj. *twentieth.*
**victor**, -ōris, m. *a conqueror*; **victor exercitus** *a victorious army.*
**victōria**, -ae, f. *victory.*
**vīcus**, -i, m. *a village, town.*
**vīdēlĭcet**, adv. *plainly, clearly; forsooth.*
**vĭdeo**, vīdi, vīsum, 2, v. a. *to see, see to it, take care*; **vĭdeor**, vīsus sum, *to seem.*
**vĭgĭlans**, -ntis, adj. *watchful.*
**vĭlĭtās**, -ātis, f. *low price, cheapness.*
**vinco**, vīci, victum, 3, v. a. *to conquer.*
**vinc̆ŭlum**, -i, n. *bond, fetter.*
**vĭŏlo**, 1, v. a. *to outrage, violate.*
**vir**, vĭri, m. *man.*
**virtūs**, -ūtis, *courage, virtue, excellence, merit*, see note on § 27, l. 23.
**vīs**, vim, vī, f. *force, quantity, abundance.*
**vīso**, -si, -sum, 3, v. a. *to look at, to go to see.*
**vīta**, -ae, f. *life.*
**vĭtĭum**, -ii, n. *crime, fault.*
**vīvo**, vixi, victum, 3, v. n. *to live.*
**vix**, adv. *scarcely, hardly.*
**vŏco**, 1, v. a. *to call*; **vocare in periculum** *to bring into danger.*
**vŏlo**, velle, volui, irreg. v. a. *to wish, be willing.*
**vŏluntās**, -ātis, f. *desire, will.*
**vŏluptās**, -ātis, f. *pleasure.*
**vōs**, vestrum, or -ri, vōbis, *you*, plur. of **tu**; **vōsmet**, emphatic form of **vos.**
**vōx**, vōcis, f. *voice.*
**vulgo**, adv. *universally, commonly.*
**vulnus**, -ĕris, n. *a wound.*

# INDEX TO THE TEXT AND NOTES WITH PHRASE LISTS.

*The references are given by section and line. Where the usages of a word have been collected in a note, the note is specially referred to. Words printed in italics occur in the notes, not in the text.*


A or ab:
a binis hostium copiis 9, 4
a calamitate defendere 14, 3
a periculo prohibere 19, 17; but cf. 18, 6
longe a domo bellare 32, 17
ab hac ratione dissentire 51, 3
a senatorio gradu longe abesse 61, 23
ablative:
cuncta Asia 12, 5
toto mari 31, 3
terra marique 48, 8
hieme, vere, aestate 35, 30
bello superiore 7, 11
extrema pueritia 28, 31
initio belli 19, 12
difficili rei publicae tempore 61, 20
referto praedonum mari 31, 6
salvis sociis 21, 18
ducibus dis 50, 30
collatis signis 66, 21
vestro iussu 26, 6
eius adventu 30, 32
rogatu cuiusquam 70, 4
difficile dictu 42, 1
iure suo 63, 21
uno consilio 9, 4
consulto 26, 9
consilio valere 42, 30; cf. classe 54, 32
ubertate agrorum antecellere 14, 33
stipendiis confectis esse 26, 8
quo animo esse debetis 11, 21
quanta innocentia debent esse 36, 4
si quid eo factum esset 59, 28
accipere, with accusative and infinitive 24, 24
ad: facultas ad agendum 2, 19; cf. 4, 15
inflammare ad studium 6, 33
ad oblivionem...tempus conferre 9, 29
ad bona pertinet 17, 26
ad bellum incumbere 9, 23
ad nostram memoriam 54, 1
tempestivo ad navigandum mari 34, 14
adjective for adverb 13, 15; 45, 32; 48, 13
adverb and adjective together 47, 29
agere: ad agendum (cum populo) 1, 2
agitur 6, 1; 14, 30
aliquando 56, 30; 64, 30
amoenitas 40, 12
anceps 9, 5
animi 66, 20; 69, 25
antecellere 14, 2
apud: apud aliquem valere 51, 4
apud exteras nationes 65, 7
at enim 51, 33; 60, 4
auctor est vobis 68, 10
auctore populo 69, 23
auctoritas 28, 27; 43, 7; 68, 19

Brachylogy 18, 7; 66, 18

Capere animos ac spiritus 66, 20
carere 55, 9
Appia via carebamus 55, 21
celeber 33, 29
centuriatus 37, 11
chiasmus 11, 26; 15, 9

comitia 2, 14
comparative with ablative, hoc facilius 51, 8; cf. 57, 31; 59, 3
adverbial with sense of 'somewhat' 11, 19; 11, 22
confirmare, literal 23, 5
absolute 71, 13
coram as adverb 66, 14
cum: homines cum imperio 13, 18; 65, 8
una cum 14, 28
summa cum salute rei publicae 50, 31
cum praesertim 12, 7; 14, 29; 62, 5; 63, 21
cum...tum 6, 2; 15, 6; 19, 14
cursus 34, 12; 40, 7; 40, 11

Dative of agent so-called 71, 12
predicative, see note on 17, 31
of purpose 70, 6
other usages, equitibus Romanis adferuntur litterae 4, 16
Bosporanis bellum inferre 9, 33
laus ei detracta 10, 14
imminent duo reges toti Asiae 12, 3
with antecellere 14, 2
consulere 18, 3
metus iis iniectus 23, 9
bello praeficere 27, 20
with adimere and imperare 35, 25
dividere 37, 15
memoriae proditum 41, 21
huic imperio minitari 60, 11
with praesidere 70, 2
praeferre 71, 20
de: quid de me iudicaretis 2, 16
de Mithridate triumphavit 8, 23
de imperio dimicare 9, 5
cum de vectigalibus agatur 14, 29
de caelo delapsum 41, 18
praestare de se (aliquid) 47, 26
decumae 15, 11
dilatio 2, 14
*diribitio* 2, 14
divinitus 45, 2; 47, 2
divinus 10, 8
dubitare quin (in negative or quasi-negative clauses) see note on 49, 22

Equites 4, 16
etiam atque etiam 58, 20
ex: ex omni aditu 21, 12
ex hoc loco 21, 21
aliqua ex parte 26, 5
ex aliorum contentione 36, 8
ex summa inopia ... vilitas 44, 28
ex eo proelio 45, 31
ex vobis quaerere 59, 27
ex senatus consulto 62, 7
excellere 39, 30; 42, 28

Facere verba 27, 14; 53, 20
facilitas 42, 28
familia 16, 18
felicitas 28, 27
ferre (intrans.) si vestra voluntas feret 71, 11
fides publica 19, 19

Genitive: appetentes gloriae 7, 9
totius anni fructus 15, 12
quorum habenda est ratio 17, 27
est igitur humanitatis vestrae 18, 4
tantum laudis 20, 33
satis laudis 21, 19
plenissimum navium 33, 29
ex aliorum contentione 36, 9
hiemis non avaritiae perfugium 39, 3; cf. 44, 29
omnia nostrae memoriae bella 42, 4
gloriae expers 57, 7
ne quid novi fiat 60, 4
hostium simulatione 66, 18
gerundive with past indicative, deligendus erat 50, 26
gradus 61, 23

Hendiadys note on 33, 27
hiberna 38, 28
honor 2, 18; 51, 2
humanitas 36, 6
hypallage 22, 29

Id quod 57, 33
ille: Medea illa 22, 27
referring to what follows 24, 19; 46, 10
impertire 20, 33
in: in primis 3, 5
totum esse in hostium potestate 5, 23
summum in periculum vocari 12, 32; cf. in calamitatem trahere 19, 17
in militiae disciplinam profectus 28, 30
ullo in numero putare 37, 10
severus in iudicando 38, 28
sumptum facere in aliquem 39, 1
in eadem sententia esse 56, 25; cf. 69, 24
in salute communi 56, 26
in uno Gabinio diligentes esse 58, 11; cf. 60, 17
in uno Pompeio omnia ponere 59, 28; 60, 14
in odio esse 65, 7
incommodum 26, 5; 33, 33
indicative in Oratio Obliqua 5, 24; 41, 24
innocentia 36, 4
integer 21, 18; 26, 12
inter tot annos 68, 7
intercessio 58, 19
itinera 38, 21
iudicium 1, 13; 43, 18; 46, 23; 63, 20
iure 63, 21

Legati 56, 1
Lex *Aebutia* 56, 1
Gabinia 54, 5; 58, 12
*Plautia Papiria* 38, 22
*Sempronia* 4, 16
litotes 71, 16
locus, temporal sense 51, 4

Magnae et multae 64, 1
memoria, see note on 54, 1
metaphors:
adflictum erexit 23, 6
aditu laudis 1, 4
adlicere 24, 25
administrae comitesque virtutis 36, 3
cinctam periculis (Siciliam) explicavit 30, 23
firmamentum, robur 10, 7; 17, 33
latebris se occultare 7, 18
lumen Graeciae 11, 23
lux 7, 20; 33, 5; 41, 22
macula, labes 7, 10; 33, 33
mederi 26, 5
nervos rei publicae 17, 32
splendor imperii 41, 22
sublatum ac sepultum...bellum 30, 32
trahere secum in calamitatem 19, 17
vitam ac spiritum ducere...portubus 33, 27
vulnera sociorum 66, 16
metonymy 32, 23

Natio 23, 14
ne...quidem 17, 24; 39, 2; 40, 16
neuter plural adjective:
summa 13, 10
bona 17, 26
praeterita, reliqua 47, 5
nova 62, 11
neuter singular adjective:
magnum aut amplum cogitare 37, 12
plurimum posse 43, 9
nobilis 33, 25
nobilitas 40, 13
non modo...ne...quidem 39, 31
noun for adjective, victor exercitus 25, 32
nuper 60, 13

Obire 34, 10; 53, 29
obtrectare 21, 21; 57, 32
offensio 26, 4
plural 28, 4

optare 25, 29; 48, 13
ordo 17, 32
ornare 9, 31; 20, 2; 21, 14

Partim 18, 3
parvi refert 18, 8
per: per aetatem 1, 7
ipsa per sese 37, 9; cf. 17, 30
per deos immortales 53, 20
per se ipsa 54, 4
dum per deos licet 59, 3; cf. 62, 9
periphrasis 5, 24; 14, 1; 27, 22
persequi 6, 33; 11, 28
plural, abstract nouns in 24, 25; 65, 9; 68, 19
ponere 59, 28; 60, 14
*portoria* 15, 11
potissimum 2, 3; 46, 20
praeter: praeter ceteras gentes 7, 9
praeter spem 25, 30
consuetudinem 61, 22
praeteritio (figure of rhetoric) 48, 7; 60, 5
principes 64, 30
pro: pro necessitudine 4, 18
pro vestra sapientia 17, 27
pro tua summa copia 52, 15
pro consule 62, 33
pro di immortales 33, 3
prohibere 18, 6; 19, 17; 53, 27
propter adverb 13, 11; 16, 16
providere 20, 31
provincia 28, 2; 61, 26
publicani 17, 28
putetis, note on 10, 17

*Quaestio perpetua* 39, 29
quaestus: in quaestu relinquere 37, 16
quasi vero 67, 4
qui with subjunctive, notes on 3, 7 and 37, 11
qui: dignus qui and idoneus qui 13, 16; 57, 3; 66, 26
qui non = quin 31, 5
quisquam in quasi-negative clauses 27, 24; 42, 3

Ratio, note on 1, 5
redimere 18, 9
referre ad senatum 58, 15
res, note on 28, 26
res publica 8, 27; 64, 27; 70, 3
rostra 55, 22

Scriptura 15, 12
secures 32, 23
sequence of tenses, perfect subjunctive in 48, 9
stipendium 26, 8
subjunctive attraction 9, 33

Tanta = tantula 14, 31
templum 70, 2
tempus plural, amicorum temporibus 1, 10
transmittere 1, 10; 42, 4
triumphare 61, 29

Usus 2, 20; 28, 11
ut = ex quo tempore 35, 21
ut non 7, 17; 19, 16
non ut...sed ut 47, 4
ut, introducing substantival clause 50, 28; 62, 31
uti: proeliis secundis uti 23, 17

Vacuus ab iis 2, 11
vectigalis 4, 13; 7, 19; 5, 23; 16, 18
velle (to resolve, will) 11, 23; 39, 5
versari 2, 13; 7, 20; 19, 20; 64, 3
videte ne 10, 17; 63, 17
virtus, note on 27, 23
vis: vim auri 22, 31
visum est = placuit 60, 13
vocare 12, 1

# INDEX OF NAMES AND PLACES.


Achaia 35, 19
Aegaeum mare 55, 17
Aetoli 14, 26
Africa 30, 24
Africanum bellum 28, 7
Amisus 21, 13
Antiochus 14, 26; 55, 9
Appia via 55, 20
Ariobarzanes 5, 22; 12, 2; Introd. 4 and 12
Asia 7, 13; 14, 32; 19, 14; 64, 2; Introd. 1 and 10
Athenienses 54, 31
Bithynia 5, 20; Introd. 3 and 8
Bosporani 9, 33; Introd. 3
Brundisium 32, 20
Caieta 33, 29
Cappadocia 7, 18; 21, 15; Introd. 3
Carthaginienses 54, 32; 55, 11
Carthago 60, 11
Cassius C. 68, 17
Catulus Q. 51, 1; 59, 26
Cilicia 35, 23; Introd. 4 and 16
Cimbri 60, 15
Civile bellum 28, 7
Cnidus 33, 24
Colophon 33, 25
Corinthus 11, 22
Cretenses 35, 25; 46, 13
Curio C. 68, 13
Cyziceni 20, 4
Delos 55, 16
Falcidius C. 58, 9
Gabinius 52, 17
Gallia 30, 26; transalpina 35, 18
Glabrio M'. 5, 24; 26, 9; Introd. 12
Graecia 35, 20
Hispania 9, 1; 30, 28; 46, 18
Hispaniense bellum 28, 8; 60, 9
Hortensius Q. 51, 3; Introd. 21
Illyricum mare 35, 19
Italia 30, 21; 30, 29; 55, 14
Iugurtha 60, 15
Lentulus Cn. 58, 9; 68, 15
Lucullus L. 5, 23; 10, 9; 20, 33, Introd. 9—12
Manilius C. 69, 21; Introd. 20
Marcellus 47, 30
Marius C. 47, 30; 60, 14
Maximus (Fabius) 47, 29
Medea 22, 27
Metellus Q. 58, 9
Misenum 33, 30
Mithridates Introd. 2—12
Murena L. 8, 23; Introd. 6
Navale bellum 28, 9
Numantia 60, 12
Oceanus 33, 7
Ostiense incommodum 33, 33
Pamphylia 35, 26
Perses 55, 10
Philippus (rex) 14, 26
Philippus L. 62, 3
Poeni 14, 27
Pompeius, Introd. 13—15 and 17—20
Pontus 7, 17; 21, 11; Introd. 3
Punicum bellum 60, 9
Rhodii 54, 33
Roma 19, 15
Samos 33, 25
Sardinia 34, 15
Scipio 47, 30; 60, 12
Sertoriani duces 21, 8
Sertorius, note on 9, 2
Servile bellum 28, 9; 30, 30; Introd. 14
Servilius P. 68, 11
Sicilia 30, 22
Sinope 21, 12
Sulla L. 8, 22; Introd. 4—6
Syria 14, 2
Teutoni 60, 15
Tigranes 23, 4; 45, 5; Introd. 3 and 7
Transalpinum bellum 28, 7


CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY W. LEWIS, M.A., AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

2 x 5

operam navare. to apply oneself
energetically to...

it is the duty of a consul - consulis est

KX-619-005